





GOLDSMITH'S  
**HISTORY OF ROME.**

ABRIDGED BY HIMSELF,

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.



LONDON.

PRINTED FOR DULAU AND C<sup>o</sup>. TREUTTEL AND C<sup>o</sup>  
BOOSEY. SOUTER. B. CORMON ET BLANC. PARIS.

—  
1831.



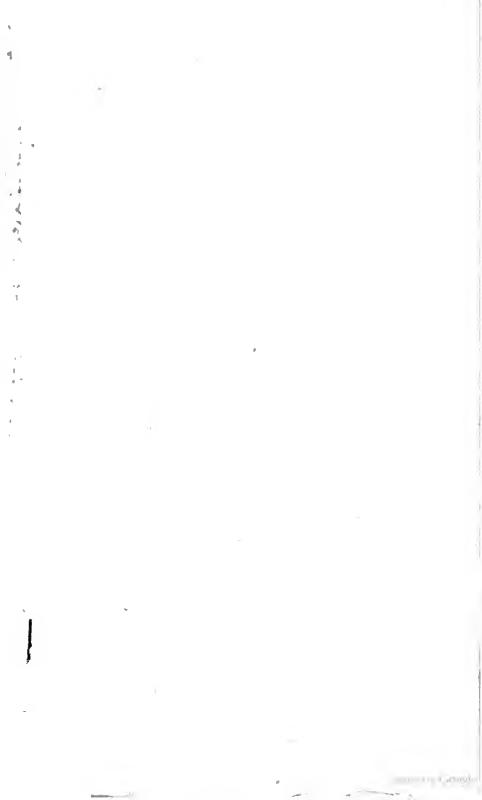
Reg. 91258

.....

## ADVERTISEMENT.

---

THE present Abridgment was suggested by the heads of some of our principal Schools. It was thought, that the substance of the Roman History, thrown into easy *Narrative*, might excite the curiosity of youth more agreeably, than (as it has commonly been given) in the dry mode of *Question and Answer*: a mode calculated, one might suppose, to interrupt the reader, and to turn into *task*, a species of instruction meant surely for *entertainment*.



THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

---

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANS.

THE Romans were particularly desirous of being thought descendants from the gods; as if to hide the meanness of their real ancestry. *Æneas*, the son of *Venus* and *Anchises*, having escaped from the destruction of *Troy*, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy, — A. M. 2294 — where he was kindly received by *Latinus*, king of the *Latines*, who gave him his daughter *Lavinia* in marriage. *Turnus*, king of the *Rutuli*, was the first who opposed *Æneas*, he having long made pretensions himself to *Lavinia*. A war ensued, in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and *Turnus* slain. In consequence of this, *Æneas* built a city, which was called *Lavinium*, in honour of his wife; and some time after, engaging in war against *Mezentius*, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquished in turn, and died in battle, after a reign of four years.

*Numitor*, the fifteenth king in a direct line from *Æneas*, who took possession of the kingdom in consequence of his father's will, had a brother named

Amulius, to whom were left the treasures which had been brought from Troy. As riches too generally prevail against right, Amulius made use of his wealth to supplant his brother, and soon found means to possess himself of the kingdom. Not contented with the crime of usurpation, he added that of murder also. Numitor's sons first fell a sacrifice to his suspicions; and to remove all apprehensions of being one day disturbed in his ill-got power, he caused Rhea Silvia, his brother's only daughter, to become a vestal; which office obliging her to perpetual virginity, made him less uneasy as to the claims of posterity.

His precautions, however, were frustrated in the event. Rhea Silvia was called to the performance of some religious service, in the temple of Mars, near the town. A spring of water glided through the sacred wood, in which the temple was inclosed; and the priestess, in order to discharge one of her sacerdotal functions, went thither to take the necessary water for the sacrifice; where a man disguised in a military habit, like that in which Mars was commonly represented, surprised and forced the vestal. Others are of opinion that she met a young lover there by appointment. When Rhea Silvia, however, could no longer conceal her shame, she charged the god Mars with being the cause of it. The circumstances of the temple, the sacred wood, and the presence of that god, who was believed to make his residence in the sanctuary consecrated to him, gave a less odious colour to the

affair, whether it was her crime or her misfortune. Whoever this lover of her's might have been; whether some person who deceived her by assuming so great a name; or Amulius himself, whom some suspected of this violence to his niece; certain it is, that in due time she was brought to bed of two boys, who were no sooner born, than devoted by the usurper to destruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had violated their chastity, and the twins were ordered to be flung into the river Tiber. It happened, however, at the time this rigorous sentence was put into execution, that the river had *more than usually overflowed* its banks, so that at the place where the children were thrown, being distant from the main current, the water was too shallow to drown them. It is said by some that they were exposed in a cradle, which, after floating for a time, was, by the waters retiring, left on dry ground; that a wolf descending, from the mountains to drink, ran, at the cry of the children, and gave them suck under a figtree; caressing and licking them as if they had been her own young; the infants hanging on her dugs as if she had been their mother; until Faustulus, the king's shepherd, struck with so surprizing a sight, conveyed them home, and delivered them to his wife Laurentia to nurse; who brought them up as her own. Some however will have it, that from the vicious life of this woman, the shepherds had given her the name of *Lupa*, or wolf, which they suppose might possibly be the occasion of this marvellous story.



Romulus and Remus, the twins, however strangely preserved, seemed early to discover abilities and desires above the meanness of their supposed original. From their very infancy an air of superiority and grandeur seemed to discover their rank. They led, however, the shepherd's life, like the rest; worked for their livelihood, and built their own huts. But pastoral idleness displeased them, and from tending their flocks, they betook themselves to the chase. Then no longer content with hunting wild beasts, they soon turned their strength against the robbers of their country, whom they often stript of their plunder, and divided it among the shepherds. The youths who continually joined them, so increased in number, as to enable them to hold assemblies and to celebrate games. In one of their excursions, the two brothers were surprised. Remus was taken prisoner, carried before the king, and accused of being a plunderer and robber on Numitor's lands. Romulus had escaped; but the king sent Remus to Numitor, that he might do himself justice.

Faustulus had always suspected the twins under his care, from many circumstances, to be the same that Amulius had exposed on the Tiber, and at length divulged the matter to Romulus. Numitor made the same discovery to Remus. From that time nothing was thought of but the tyrant's destruction. He was beset on all sides, and, during the amazement and distraction, was taken and slain; while Numitor, who had been deposed for forty

years, recognized his grandsons, their education and the manner of his first knowing them, and was once more restored to the throne.

The two brothers, leaving Numitor the kingdom of Alba, determined upon building a city upon the spot where they had been exposed and preserved. But a fatal desire of reigning seized them both, and created a difference between these noble youths, which terminated tragically. Birth-right in the case of twins could claim no precedence; they therefore were advised by the king to take an omen from the flight of birds, to know for which of them the tutelary gods would decree the honour of governing the rising city, and in consequence, of being the director of the other. In compliance with this advice each took his station on a different hill. To Remus appeared six vultures. In the moment after Romulus saw twelve. Two parties had been formed for this purpose: the one declared for Remus who first saw the vultures: the other for Romulus who saw the greater number. Each party called themselves victorions, the one having the first omen, the other that which was most complete. This produced a contest, which ended in a battle wherein Remus was slain. It was even said, that he was killed by his brother; who, being provoked at his leaping contemptuously over the city wall, struck him dead upon the spot.

Romulus, being now sole commander, and eighteen years of age, began the foundation of a city that was one day to give laws to the world. It was

\*\*

called Rome after the name of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his successful omen — A. M. 3252, ante C. 752. — The city was at first nearly square, containing about a thousand houses. It was almost a mile in circumference, and commanded a small territory round about it of eight miles over. However, small as it appears, it was yet worse inhabited; and the first method made use of to increase its numbers, was the opening a sanctuary for all malefactors and slaves, and such as were desirous of novelty; and these came in great multitudes, and contributed to increase the number of our legislator's new subjects.

.....

## CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BUILDING OF ROME TO THE DEATH  
OF ROMULUS.

SCARCE was the city raised above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to think of giving some form to their constitution. Romulus, by an act of great generosity, left them at liberty to choose whom they would for their king; and they, in gratitude, concurred to elect their founder. He was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, sovereign magistrate of Rome, and general of the army. Beside a guard to attend his person, it was agreed, that he should be preceded wherever he went by twelve lictors, each armed with an axe tied up in a bundle of rods; these were to serve as exe-

cutioners of the law, and to impress his new subjects with an idea of his authority.

The senate, who were to act as counsellors to the king, was composed of a hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, consisting of men whose age, wisdom, or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow subjects; and the king named the first senator, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required his own absence.

The plebeians who composed the third part of the legislature, assumed to themselves the power of authorising those laws which were passed by the king or the senate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magistrates, and even to the choosing a king, were confirmed by suffrages in their assemblies.

The first care of the new created king, was to attend to the interest of religion. The precise form of their worship is unknown: but the greatest part of the religion of that age consisted in a firm reliance upon the credit of their soothsayers, who pretended, from observations on the flight of birds, and the entrails of beasts, to direct the present, and to dive into futurity. Romulus, by an express law, commanded that no election should be made nor enterprise undertaken, without first consulting them.

Wives were forbidden upon any pretext whatever, to separate from their husbands; while, on the contrary, the husband was empowered to repudiate the wife, and even in some cases to put her to death. The laws between children and their parents were

still yet more severe ; the father had entire power over his offspring, both of fortune and life; he could imprison or sell them at any time of their lives, or in any station to which they were arrived.

After endeavours to regulate his subjects by law, Romulus next gave orders to ascertain their numbers. The whole amounted to no more than three thousand foot, and about as many hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These therefore were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he assigned a different part of the city. Each of these tribes were subdivided into ten *curiæ* or companies, consisting of a hundred men each, with a centurion to command it; a priest, called *curio*, to perform the sacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called *duumviri*, to distribute justice.

By these regulations each day added strength to the new city; multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only seemed to want women, to ascertain its duration. In this exigence, Romulus, by the advice of the senate, sent deputies among the Sabines, his neighbours, entreating their alliance; and upon these terms offering to cement the most strict confederacy with them. The Sabines, who were then considered as the most warlike people of Italy, rejected the proposal with disdain. Romulus therefore proclaimed a feast in honour of Neptune, throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the most magnificent preparations for it. These feasts were generally preceded by sacrifices, and ended in shows of wrestlers, gladiators; and

chariot courses. The Sabines, as he had expected, were among the foremost who came to be spectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them to share the pleasure of the sight. In the mean time the games began, and while the strangers were most intent upon the spectacle, a number of the Roman youth rushed in among them with drawn swords, seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents protested against this breach of hospitality; in vain the virgins themselves at first opposed the attempts of their ravishers; perseverance and caresses obtained those favours, which timidity at first denied; so that the ravishers, from being objects of aversion, soon became the partners of their dearest affections.

A bloody war ensued. The cities of Cenina, Antemnae and Crustumium were the first who resolved to revenge the common cause, which the Sabines seemed too dilatory in pursuing. But all these, by making separate inroads, became a more easy conquest to Romulus, who made the most merciful use of his victory; instead of destroying their towns or lessening their numbers, he only placed colonies of Romans in them, to serve as a frontier to repress more distant invasions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and not content with a superiority of forces, he added stratagem also. Tar-

peia, who was daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands, as she went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by means of large promises, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward she engaged for was what the soldiers wore on their arms, by which she meant their bracelets. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or willing to punish her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death. The Sabines being thus possessed of the Capitoline, after some time, a general engagement ensued, which was renewed for several days, with almost equal success, and neither army could think of submitting. It was in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal hill, that the last engagement was fought between the Romans and the Sabines. The engagement was now become general, and the slaughter prodigious; when the attention of both sides was suddenly turned from the scene of horror before them to another; the Sabine women who had been carried off by the Romans, with their hair loose and their ornaments neglected, flew in between the combatants, regardless of their own danger, and with loud outcries implored their husbands and their fathers to desist. Upon this the combatants, as if by mutual impulse, let fall their weapons. An accommodation ensued, by which it was agreed, that Romulus and Tatius should reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative; that a hundred Sabines should be admitted into the senate; that

the city should retain its former name, but that the citizens should be called Quirites, after Cures, the principal town of the Sabines, and that both nations being thus united, such of the Sabines as chose it, should be admitted to live in and enjoy all the privileges of citizens in Rome. Tatius was killed, about five years after, by the Lavinians, for having protected some of his servants, who had plundered them, and slain their ambassadors; so that by this accident Romulus once more saw himself sole monarch of Rome.

Successes like these produced an equal share of pride in the conqueror. From being contented with those limits which had been wisely assigned to his power, he began to affect absolute sway, and to controul those laws, to which he had himself formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate was particularly displeased at his conduct, as they found themselves only used as instruments to ratify the rigour of his commands. We are not told the precise manner which they employed to get rid of the tyrant, some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate-house; others, that he disappeared while reviewing his army; certain it is, that from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude, that he was taken up into heaven; thus him, whom they could not bear as a king, they were contented to worship as a god. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, and after his death had a temple built to him under the name of Quirinus.





## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF ROMULUS TO THE DEATH OF NUMA  
POMPILIUS, THE SECOND KING OF ROME.

UPON the death of Romulus, — U. C. 38. — the city seemed greatly divided in the choice of a successor. The Sabines were for having a king chosen from their body, but the Romans could not endure the thought of advancing a stranger to the throne. In this perplexity the senators undertook to supply the place of the king, by taking the government, each of them in turn, for five days, and during that time enjoying all the honours and all the privileges of royalty. This new form of government continued for a year; but the plebeians, who saw that this method of transferring power was only multiplying their masters, insisted upon altering that mode of government. The senate being thus driven to an election, at length pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, and their choice was received with universal approbation by the people.

Numa Pompilius, who was now about forty, had long been eminent for his piety, his justice, his moderation, and exemplary life. He was skilled in all the learning and philosophy of the Sabines, and lived at home at Cures, contented with a private fortune; unambitious of higher honours. It was not, therefore, without reluctance, that he accepted the dignity; which, when he did so, produced such

joy, that the people seemed not so much to receive a king as a kingdom.

No monarch could be more proper for them than Numa, at a conjuncture when the government was composed of various petty states lately subdued, and but ill united to each other: they wanted a master who could, by his laws and precepts, soften *their fierce dispositions*, and by his example induce them to a love of religion, and every milder virtue.

Numa's whole time, therefore, was spent in inspiring his subjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, instituted sacred offices and feasts; and the sanctity of his life gave him credit enough to persuade his people, *that he had a particular correspondence with the goddess Egeria*. By her advice he built the temple of Janus, which was to be shut in time of peace, and open in war. He ordained four vestal virgins, who had very great privileges allowed them.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided those lands which Romulus had gained in war, among the poorer part of the people; he regulated the calendar: and abolished the distinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according to their several trades, and compelling them to live together. Thus having arrived at the age of fourscore years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, he died, ordering his body, contrary to the custom of the times, to be buried in a stone coffin; and his books of ceremonies, which consisted of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be buried, by his side, in another.



## CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF NUMA TO THE DEATH OF TULLUS  
HOSTILIUS, THE THIRD KING OF ROME.—U. C. 82.

AT the death of Numa, the government once more devolved upon the senate, and so continued till the people elected Tullus Hostilius for their king, which choice had also the concurrence of the other part of the constitution. This monarch, the grandson of a noble Roman, who had formerly signalised himself against the Sabines, was every way unlike his predecessor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterprise than even the founder of the empire himself had been; so that he only sought a pretext for leading his forces into the field.

The Albans were the first people that gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. The forces of the two states met about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide the fate of their respective kingdoms; for almost every battle in these times was decisive. The two armies were for some time drawn out in array, awaiting the signal to begin, both chiding the length of that dreadful suspense, when an unexpected proposal from the Alban general put a stop to the onset. Stepping in between both armies, he offered the Romans a choice of deciding the dispute by a single combat; adding, that the side whose champion was overcome

should submit to the conqueror. A proposal like this suited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his subjects, each of whom hoped, that he himself should be chosen to fight the cause of his country. There were at that time three twin brothers in each army; those of the Romans were called *Horatii*, and those of the *Albans Curiatii*; all six remarkable for their courage, strength and activity; and to these it was resolved to commit the management of the combat. At length the champions met in combat together, and each totally regardless of his own safety, only sought the destruction of his opponent. The spectators, in horrid silence, trembled at every blow, and wished to share the danger, till fortune seemed to decide the glory of the field. Victory, that had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare against the Romans; they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three *Curiatii*, who were wounded, slowly endeavouring to pursue the survivor, who seemed by flight to beg for mercy. Too soon, however, they perceived, that his flight was only pretended, in order to separate his three antagonists, whom he was unable to oppose united; for quickly after, stopping his course, and turning upon the first, who followed closely behind, he laid him dead at his feet: the second brother, who was coming up to assist him that had already fallen, shared the same fate. There now remained but the last *Curiatius* to conquer, who, fatigued and disabled by his wounds, slowly advanced to offer an easy victory. He was killed, almost unresisting;



make him the great object of his imitation. He instituted the sacred ceremonies, which were to precede a declaration of war; but he took every occasion to advise his subjects to return to the arts of agriculture; and to lay aside the less useful stratagems of war.

These institutions and precepts were considered, by the neighbouring powers, rather as marks of cowardice than of wisdom. The Latins therefore began to make incursions upon his territories, but their success was equal to their justice: *Ancus* conquered the Latins, destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and increased his territories by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled also an insurrection of the *Veii*, the *Fidenates*, and the *Volsci*; and over the *Sabines* he obtained a second triumph.

But his victories over the enemy were by no means comparable to his works at home, in raising temples, fortifying the city, making a prison for malefactors, and building a seaport at the mouth of the *Tiber*, called *Ostia*, by which he secured to his subjects the trade of that river, and that of the salt-pits adjacent. Thus having enriched his subjects, and beautified the city, he died after a reign of twenty-four years.



## CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF ANCUS MARTIUS TO THE DEATH  
OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, THE FIFTH KING OF ROME.  
— U. C. 138.

**L**UCIUS TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, whose original name was Lucumon, and who was appointed guardian to the sons of the late king, took the surname of Tarquinius, from the city of Tarquinii, whence he last came. His father was a merchant of Corinth, who had acquired considerable wealth by trade, and had settled in Italy upon account of some troubles at home. His son Lucumon, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquinii. His birth, profession, and country, being contemptible to the nobles of the place, by his wife's persuasions he came to settle at Rome, where merit alone gave a title to distinction. On his way thither, say the historians, as he approached the city gate, an eagle stooping from above, took off his hat, and flying round his chariot for some time, with much noise, put it on again. This, his wife Tanaquil, who it seems was skilled in augury, interpreted as a presage, that he should one day wear a crown. Perhaps it was this which first fired his ambition to pursue it.

Ancus being dead, and the kingdom, as usual, devolved upon the senate, Tarquin used all his power and arts to set aside the children of the late king, and to get himself elected in their stead. For this

purpose, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have them sent out of the city; and in a set speech, in which he urged his friendship for the people, the fortune he had spent among them, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himself for their king. As there was nothing in this harangue that could be contested, it had the desired effect; and the people, with one consent, elected him as their sovereign.

A kingdom thus obtained by intrigue, was, notwithstanding, governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompense his friends, he added a hundred members more to the senate, which made them, in all, three hundred.

But his peaceful endeavours were soon interrupted by the inroads of his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and whom he forced to beg for peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had risen once more, and had passed over the river Tiber; but, attacking them with vigour, Tarquin routed their army; so that many who escaped the sword were drowned in attempting to cross over, while their bodies and armour, floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory, even before the messengers could arrive that were sent with the tidings. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, though without gaining any decisive victory.

Tarquin, having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved not to let his subjects grow



corrupt through indolence. He therefore undertook and perfected several public works, for the convenience and embellishment of the city.

In his time it was, that the augurs came into a great increase of reputation. He found it, his interest to promote the superstition of the people, for this was in fact but to increase their obedience. Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Accius Nævius was the most celebrated adept of this kind ever known in Rome. Upon a certain occasion, Tarquin, being resolved to try the augur's skill, asked him, whether what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected. Nævius having consulted his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: « Why then, » cried the king, with an insulting smile, « I had thoughts of cutting this whetstone with a razor. » « Cut boldly, » replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thenceforward nothing was undertaken in Rome without consulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation.

Tarquin was not content with a kingdom, without having also the ensigns of royalty. In imitation of the Lydian kings, he assumed a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was, perhaps, the splendour of these royalties, that first raised the envy of the late king's sons, who had now, for above thirty-seven years, quietly submitted to his government. His design, also, of adopting Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, for his successor, might have contribu-

ted to inflame their resentment. Whatever was the cause of their tardy vengeance, they resolved to destroy him; and at last found means to effect their purpose, by hiring two ruffians, who, demanding to speak with the king, pretending that they came for justice, struck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, who waited upon the person of the king, seized the murderers, as they were attempting to escape; and they were put to death; but the sons of Ancus, who were the instigators, found safety in flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed Priscus, to distinguish him from one of his successors of the same name. He was eighty years of age, and had reigned thirty-eight.



## CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS TO THE  
DEATH OF SERVIUS TULLIUS, THE SIXTH KING OF  
ROME. — U. C. 176.

THE report of the murder of Tarquin filled all his subjects with complaint and indignation, while the citizens ran from every quarter to the palace, to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the assassins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, considering the danger she must incur, in case the conspirators should succeed to the crown; and desirous of seeing her son-in-law his

successor, with great art dissembled her sorrow, as well as the king's death. She assured the people, from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not killed, but only stunned by the blow; that he would shortly recover; and that in the mean time, he had deputed his power to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law. Servius, accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, issued from the palace, adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors, went to dispatch some affairs that related to the public safety; still pretending, that he took all his instructions from the king. This scene of dissimulation continued for some days, till he had made his party good among the nobles; when, the death of Tarquin being publicly ascertained, Servius came to the crown, solely at the senate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the suffrages of the people.

Servius was the son of a bondwoman, who had been taken at the sacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born whilst his mother was a slave. While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame is said to have played round his head, which Tanaquil converted into an omen of future greatness.

Upon being acknowledged king, the chief object of his reign was to increase the power of the senate, by depressing that of the people. The populace, who were unable to see into his designs, conferred upon him full power of settling the taxes as he should think proper. And accordingly, as he insisted that they should pay their taxes by centuries, he com-

manded that by centuries also they should give their votes, in all public transactions. In former deliberations each citizen gave his suffrage singly, and the numbers of the poor always carried it against the power of the rich; but by the regulations of Servius, the senate was made to consist of a greater number of centuries than all the other classes put together, and thus entirely outweighed them in every contention.

In order to ascertain the increase or decay of his subjects and their fortunes, he instituted another regulation, which he called a Lustrum. By this all the citizens were to assemble in the Campus Martius, in complete armour, and in their respective classes, *once in five years*, and there to give an exact account of their families and fortune.

Having enjoyed a long reign, spent in settling the domestic policy of the state, and also not inattentive to foreign concerns, he conceived reasonable hopes of concluding it with tranquillity and ease. He even had thoughts of laying down his power; and, having formed the kingdom into a republic, to retire into obscurity; but so generous a design was frustrated ere it could be put into execution.

*In the beginning* of his reign, to secure the throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandsons of Tarquin; and as he knew that the women were of opposite dispositions, as well as their intended husbands, he resolved to cross their tempers, by giving each to him of a contrary turn of mind; her that was meek and gentle,

to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character: by this he supposed, that each would correct the failings of the other, and that the mixture would be productive of concord. The event, however, proved otherwise. Lucius, the haughty son-in-law, soon grew displeased with the meekness of his consort, and placed his whole affections upon his brother's wife Tullia, who answered his passion with sympathetic ardour. As their wishes were ungovernable, they soon resolved to break through every restraint that prevented their union; they both undertook to murder their respective consorts; they succeeded, and were soon after married together. A first crime ever produces a second; from the destruction of their consorts, they proceeded to conspiring that of the king. They began by raising factions against him, alleging his illegal title to the crown, and Lucius claiming it as his own, as heir to Tarquin. At length, when he found the senate ripe for seconding his views, he entered the senate-house, adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and placing himself upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obscurity of the king's birth, and the injustice of his title. While he was yet speaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and seeing his throne thus rudely invaded, offered to push the usurper from his seat; but Tarquin, being in the vigour of youth threw the old king down the steps which led up to the throne; when some of his adherents, who were ins-

tructed for that purpose, followed him, as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, dispatched him by the way, and threw his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a public spectacle into the street. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, was informed of what her husband had done, and resolving to be among the first who *should* salute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to the senate-house. But as her charioteer approached the place, where the body of the old king, her father, lay exposed and bloody, the man, all amazed at the inhuman spectacle, and not willing to trample upon it with his horses, offered to turn another way; which only serving to increase the fierceness *of her anger, she threw the footstool at his head, and ordered him to drive over the dead body without hesitation.*

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent justice and moderation, after a useful, prosperous reign of forty-four years.

.....

## CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF SERVIUS TULLIUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, THE SEVENTH AND LAST KING OF ROME. — U. C. 220.

LUCIUS TARQUINIUS, afterward called Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himself upon the throne, in consequence of this horrid deed, was resolved to support his dignity with the same violence, with

which it was acquired. Regardless of the senate or the people's approbation, he seemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refused burial to the late king's body, under pretence of his being a usuper. All the good part of mankind, however, looked upon his accession with detestation and horror; and this act of inefficient cruelty only served to confirm their hatred. Conscious of this, he ordered all such as he suspected to have been attached to Servius, to be put to death; and fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, he increased the guard round his person.

His chief policy seems to have been to keep the people always employed either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown. He first marched against the Sabines, who refused to pay him obedience; and he soon reduced them to submission. He caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, upon pretence of barbarous usage, and to seek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and studied lamentations, Sextus so prevailed upon the pity of the people, as to be chosen their governor, and soon after general of their army. At first, in every engagement, he appeared successful, till at length, finding himself entirely possessed of the confidence of the state, he sent a trusty messenger to his father for instructions. Tarquin made no answer; but, taking the messenger into the garden, he cut down before him the tallest poppies. Sextus readily understood the meaning of

this reply, and found means to destroy or remove one by one the principal men of the city; taking care to confiscate their effects among the people. The charms of this dividend kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin; till they found themselves, at last, without counsellors or head; and, in the end, fell under the power of Tarquin, without even striking a blow.

But while he was engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to suffer the people to continue in idleness at home. He undertook to build the Capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign; and an extraordinary event contributed to hasten the execution of his design. A woman in strange attire, made her appearance at Rome, and came to the king, offering to sell nine books, which she said were of her own composing. Not knowing the abilities of the seller, or that she was, in fact, one of the celebrated Sybils, whose prophecies were never found to fail, Tarquin refused to buy them. Upon this she departed, and burning three of her books, returned again, demanding the same price for the six remaining. Being once more despised as an impostor, she again departed, and burning three more, she returned with the remaining three, still asking the same price as at first. Tarquin, surprised at the inconsistency of her behaviour, consulted the augurs, to be advised what to do. These much blamed him for not buying the nine, and commanded him to take the three remaining at whatever price they were to be had. The woman, says the historian, after this



selling and delivering the three prophetic volumes, and advising him to have a special attention to what they contained, vanished from before him, and was never seen after. A trick, this, invented probably by Tarquin himself, to impose upon the people; and to find in that Sybil's leaves whatever the government might require. However this was, he chose proper persons to keep them, who, though but two at first, were afterward increased to fifteen, under the name of Quindecemviri. They were put into a stone chest, and a vault in the newly-designed building was thought the properest place to secure them. The people having been now for four years together employed in building the Capitol, began at last to wish for something new to engage them: Tarquin, therefore, to satisfy their wishes, proclaimed war against the Rutuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained some malefactors, whom he had banished; and invested the chief city Ardea, which lay about sixteen miles from Rome. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's son Sextus Tarquinius Collatinus, a noble Roman, and some others, sitting in a tent drinking together, the discourse turned upon wives, each man preferring the beauty and virtue of his own. Collatinus offered to decide the dispute by putting it to an immediate trial, whose wife should be found possessed of the greatest beauty, and most sedulously employed at that very hour: being heated with wine, the proposal was relished by the whole company; and taking horse without delay, they posted to Rome,

though the night was already pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like the other women of her age, spending the time in ease and luxury, but spinning in the midst of her maids, and cheerfully portioning out their tasks. Her modest beauty, and the easy reception *she* gave her husband and his friends, so charmed *them* all, that they unanimously gave her the preference, but kindled in the breast of Sextus Tarquinius a detestable passion, that nothing but possession could satisfy.

For that purpose he went from the camp to visit her privately a few days after, and found the same kind reception which he had met with before. As his intentions were not suspected, Lucretia sat with him at supper, and ordered a chamber to be got ready for him. Midnight was the time in which this rufian thought it safest to put his designs into execution. Having found means to convey himself into her chamber, he approached the bedside with a drawn sword, and rudely laying his hand upon her bosom threatened her with instant death if she offered to resist his passion. Lucretia affrighted out of her sleep, and seeing death so near, was yet inexorable to his desire; but was told, that if she would not yield, he would instantly kill her, lay his own slave dead in her bed by her, and then report that he had found and killed them both in the act of adultery. The terror of infamy achieved what the fear of death could not obtain, and she consented; the next morning he returned to the camp, exulting in his bru-

tal victory. In the mean time, Lucretia, detesting the light, and resolving not to pardon herself for the crime of another, demanded her husband Collatinus, and Spurius, her father, to come to her; an indelible disgrace having befallen the family. They instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father, Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messenger by the way. Their arrival only served to increase Lucretia's poignant anguish: they found her in a state of the deepest desperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief. « No ( said she ), never shall I find  
« any thing worth living for in this world, under the  
« loss of virtue. You see, my Collatinus, a polluted  
« wretch before you; one whose person has been the  
« spoil of another, but whose affections were never  
« estranged from you. Sextus Tarquinius, under the  
« pretended veil of friendship, has this night violated that honour, which death only can restore; but  
« if you have the hearts of men, remember to avenge  
« my cause, and let posterity know, that she who has  
« lost her virtue, has only death for her best consolation. » So saying, she drew a poniard from beneath her robe, and instantly plunging it into her bosom, expired without a groan. Struck with sorrow, pity and indignation, Spurius and Collatinus gave vent to their grief; but Brutus, drawing the poniard reeking from Lucretia's wound, and lifting it up toward Heaven, « Be witness, ye gods, » he cried, « that from this moment I proclaim myself the aven-

« ger of the chaste Lucretia's cause : from this mo-  
« ment I profess myself the enemy of Tarquin, and  
« his lustful house ; henceforth this life, while life  
« continues, shall be employed in opposition to ty-  
« ranny, and for the happiness and freedom of my  
« much-loved country. » A new amazement seized  
the hearers, he, whom they had hitherto considered  
as an idiot, now appearing in his real character, the  
friend of justice and of Rome. He told them, that  
tears and lamentations were unmanly, when vengeance  
called so loud ; and, delivering the poniard to  
the rest, imposed the same oath upon them, which  
he himself had just taken.

Junius Brutus was the son of Marcus Junius, who  
was put to death by Tarquin the Proud. This Junius  
Brutus had received an excellent education from his  
father, and had, from nature, strong sense, and an  
inflexible attachment to virtue ; but knowing that  
Tarquin had murdered his father and his eldest brother,  
he counterfeited a fool, in order to escape the  
same danger, and thence obtained the surname of  
Brutus. Tarquin, thinking his folly real, despised  
the man ; and having possessed himself of his estate,  
kept him as an idiot in his house, merely with a  
view of making sport for his children.

Brutus, however, only waited an opportunity to  
avenge the cause of his family. He ordered Lucretia's  
dead body to be brought out to view, and, exposing  
it in the public forum, enflamed the ardour of  
the citizens by a display of the horrid transaction.  
He obtained a decree of the senate, that Tarquin

and his family should be for ever banished from Rome, and that it should be capital for any to plead for, or to attempt his future return. Thus this monarch, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Cira, a little city of Etruria. In the mean time, the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was proclaimed deliverer of the people.

Thus ended with Tarquin, after a continuance of two hundred and forty-five years, the *Regal State* of Rome.

.....

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE COMMONWEALTH.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF TARQUIN TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST DICTATOR. — U. C. 245.

THE Regal Power being overthrown, a republican form of government was substituted in its room. The senate, however, reserved by far the greatest share of the authority to themselves, and decorated their own body with all the spoils of deposed monarchy. The centuries of the people chose from among the senators, instead of a king, two annual magistrates, whom they called *CONSULS*, with power equal to that of the regal, and with the same privileges, and the same ensigns of authority.

Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, were the first who were chosen consuls in Rome.

But this new republic, however, which seemed so grateful to the people, had like to have been destroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families in the state, who had been educated about the king, and had shared in all the luxuries and pleasures of the court, undertook to reestablish monarchy. This party secretly increased every day; and what may create surprise, the sons of Brutus himself, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were among the number. Tarquin who was informed of these intrigues in his favour, sent ambassadors from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown; but, in reality, with a design to give spirit to his faction. The conspiracy was discovered by a slave, who had accidentally hidden himself in the room where the conspirators used to assemble. Few situations could have been more terribly affecting than that of Brutus, a father placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children; impelled by justice to condemn, and by nature to spare them. The young men pleaded nothing for themselves; but, with conscious guilt, awaited their sentence in silence and agony. The other judges, who were present, felt all the pangs of nature; Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repress his sentiments of pity. Brutus, alone, seemed to have lost all the softness of humanity, and, with a stern countenance, and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy resolution, demanded of his sons, if they could make any defence to the crimes, with which they had been

charged. This demand he made three several times; but, receiving no answer, he, at length, turned himself to the executioner, «Now,» cried he, «it is your part to perform the rest.» Thus saying, he again resumed his seat, with an air of determined majesty; nor could all the sentiments of paternal pity, the imploring looks of the people, or yet the tears of his sons, who were preparing for execution, alter the tenor of his resolution. Brutus, unmoved by any motive but the public good, pronounced upon them the sentence of death, and by his office was obliged to see it put into execution. The prisoners were beheaded; and Brutus beheld the cruel spectacle; but, in spite of his stoic firmness, could not stifle the sentiments of nature, which he sacrificed to the necessity of his office.

Tarquin's hopes of an insurrection in his favour being thus overset, he now resolved to force himself upon his former throne by foreign assistance. He prevailed upon the Veians to assist him, and with a considerable army advanced towards Rome.

The consuls were not remiss in preparations to oppose him. — U. C. 246. — Valerius commanded the foot, and Brutus, being appointed to head the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman borders. Aruns, the son of Tarquin, who commanded the cavalry for his father, seeing Brutus at a distance, resolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day before the engaging of the armies; when, spurring his horse, he flew to him with fury. Brutus perceived his approach; and, singled out from the

ranks, they met with such ungoverned rage, that eager only to assail, and thoughtless of defending, they both fell dead upon the field together. A bloody battle ensued, with equal slaughter on both sides; but the Romans, remaining in possession of the field of battle, claimed the victory. In consequence, Valerius returned in triumph to Rome.

In the mean time, Tarquin, no way intimidated by his misfortunes, prevailed upon Porsenna, one of the kings of Etruria, to espouse his cause, and in person to undertake his quarrel. This prince, equally noted for courage and conduct, marched directly to Rome, with a numerous army, and laid siege to the city; while the terror of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with dismay. The siege was carried on with vigour; a furious attack was made upon the place: the consuls opposed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans, fleeing in great consternation, were pursued by the enemy to the bridge, over which both victors and vanquished were about to enter the city in the confusion. All now appeared lost and over, when Horatius Cocles, who had been placed there as sentinel to defend it, opposed himself to the torrent of the enemy, and, assisted only by two more, for some time sustained the whole fury of the assault, till the bridge was broken down behind him. When he found the communication thus cut off, plunging with his arms into the torrent of the Tiber, he swam back victorious to his fellow-soldiers, and was received with just applause.



Still, however, Porsenna was determined upon taking the city; and though five hundred of hismen were slain in a sally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greatest straits, and, turning the siege into a blockade, resolved to take it by famine. The distress of the besieged soon began to be insufferable, and all things seemed to threaten a speedy surrender, when another act of fierce bravery, still superior to that which had saved the city before, again brought about its safety and freedom.

Mutius, a youth of undaunted-courage, was resolved to rid his country of an enemy that so continued to oppress it; and, for this purpose, disguised in the habit of an Etrurian peasant, entered the camp of the enemy, resolving to kill the king, or die. With this resolution he made up to the place where Porsenna was paying his troops, with a secretary by his side; but mistaking the latter for the king, he stabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended. Upon Porsenna's demanding who he was, and the cause of so heinous an action, Mutius, without reserve, informed him of his country and his design, and at the same time thrusting his right hand into a fire that was burning upon an altar before him, « You see, » cried he, « how little »  
« I regard the severest punishment your cruelty can »  
« inflict upon me. A Roman knows not only how to »  
« act, but how to suffer : I am not the only person »  
« you have to fear; three hundred Roman youths , »  
« like me, have conspired your destruction; there- »  
« fore prepare for their attempts. » Porsenna, ama-

zed at so much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit, though found in an enemy : he, therefore, ordered him to be safely conducted back to Rome, and offered the besieged conditions of peace. These were readily accepted on their side, being neither hard nor disgraceful, except that twenty hostages were demanded; ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome. But even in this instance also, as if the gentler sex were resolved to be sharers in the desperate valour of the times, Clelia, one of the hostages, escaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam over the Tiber on horseback, amid showers of darts from the enemy, and presented herself to the consul. This magistrate fearing the consequences of detaining her, sent her back, upon which Porsenna, not to be outdone in generosity, not only gave her liberty, but permitted her to choose such of the hostages, of the opposite sex, as she should think fit to attend her. On her part, she, with all the modesty of a Roman virgin, chose only such as were under fourteen, alleging, that their tender age was least capable of sustaining the rigors of slavery.

Tarquin, by means of his son-in-law Manilius, once more stirred up the Latins to espouse his interest, and took the most convenient opportunity, when the plebeians were at variance with the senators concerning the payment of their debts. These refused to go to war, unless their debts were remitted upon their return; so that the consuls, finding

their authority insufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magistrate, who should have absolute power, not only over all ranks of the state, but even over the laws themselves. To this the plebeians readily consented, willing to give up their own power, for the sake of abridging that of their superiors. In consequence of this, Lartius was created the first dictator of Rome, for so was this high office called, being nominated to it by his colleague in the consulship. Thus the people, who could not bear the very name of king, readily submitted to a magistrate possessed of much greater power; so much do the names of things mislead us, and so little is any form of government irksome to the people, when it coincides with their prejudices.

.....

## CHAPTER X.

FROM THE CREATION OF A DICTATOR, TO THE ELECTION OF THE TRIBUNES. — U. C. 255.

**L**ARTIUS, being created dictator, entered upon his office, surrounded with lictors and all the ensigns of ancient royalty, and, seated upon a throne in the midst of the people, ordered the levies to be made, in the manner of the kings of Rome. The populace looked with terror upon a magistrate, whom they had invested with uncontrollable power, and peaceably went each to range himself under his respective standard. Thus going forth to oppose the enemy, he returned with his army, and in six months laid

down the dictatorship, with the reputation of having exercised it with blameless lenity.

But though for this time the people submitted to be led forth, they yet resolved to free themselves from the yoke; and, though they could not get their grievances redressed, yet they determined to flee from those, whom they could not move to compassion. The grievances, therefore, continuing, they resolved to quit a city which gave them no shelter, and to form a new establishment without its limits. Accordingly, under the conduct of a plebeian named Sicinius Bellutus, they retired to a mountain, thence called the Mons Sacer, within three miles from Rome.

Upon the news of this defection, the city was filled with tumult and consternation; those who wished well to the people made every attempt to scale the walls, in order to join them. The senate was not less agitated than the rest; some were for violent measures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion, that gentler arts were to be used, and that even a victory over such enemies would be worse than a defeat. At length it was resolved to send a messenger, entreating the people to return home and declare their grievances; promising at the same time an oblivion of all that had passed.

This message not succeeding, Menenius Agrippa, one of the wisest and best of the senators, was of opinion, that the demands of the people were to be complied with. It was resolved, therefore, to enter into a treaty, and to make them such offers as should induce them to return. Ten commissioners were de-

puted. The dignity and popularity of the ambassadors procured them a very respectable reception among the soldiers, and a conference begun. They employed all their oratory : while Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were speakers for the soldiery, aggravated their distresses with all that masculine eloquence, which is the child of nature. The conference had now continued for a long time, when Mennius Agrippa, who had been originally a plebeian himself, a shrewd man, and who, consequently, knew what kind of eloquence was most likely to please the people, addressed them with that celebrated fable, which is so finely told by Livy. « In times of old, when every part of the body could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all, with common consent, resolved to revolt against the belly. They knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning till night in its service, while the belly, in the mean time, lay at its ease in the midst of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours : accordingly, one and all, they agreed to befriend it no more. The feet vowed they would no longer carry the load ; the hands vowed they would not feed it ; and the teeth averred they would not chew its food. Thus resolved, they all, for some time, showed their spirit, and kept their word ; but soon found, that instead of mortifying the belly by these means, they only mndid themselves ; they languished for a while, and perceived, when too late, that it was owing to the belly that they had strength to work, or courage to mutiny. »

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an instantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimously cried out, that Agrippa should lead them back to Rome: and were making preparations to follow him, when Lucius Junius withheld them; alleging, that though they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the senate, yet they had no safeguard against their future resentment; that, therefore, it was necessary, for the security of the people, to have certain officers created annually from among themselves, who should have power to give such of them, as should be injured, redress, and plead the cause of the community.

The people, who were ever of opinion with the last speaker, highly applauded this proposal, which yet the commissioners had not power to comply with; they, therefore, sent to Rome to take the instructions of the senate; who, distracted with divisions among themselves, and harassed by complaints from without, were resolved to have peace at whatever price it should be obtained; accordingly, as if with one voice, they consented to the creation of these new officers, who were called *Tribunes of the People*.

The Tribunes of the People were at first five in number, though afterward their body was increased by five more. They were always annually elected by the people, and almost always from their body. They at first had their seats placed before the doors of the senate-house, and when called in, they were to examine every decree; annulling it by the word *veto*,

\*\*

*I forbid it*; or confirming it by signing the letter *T*, which gave it validity. This new office being thus instituted, all things were adjusted both on one side and the other, and the people, after having sacrificed to the Gods of the Mountain, returned back once more in triumph to Rome.

.....

## CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE TRIBUNES, TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE DECENVIRI. — U. C. 260.

**D**URING the late separation, all tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the consequence the ensuing season. The senate did all that lay in their power to remedy the distress; but the people, pinched with want and willing to throw the blame on any but themselves, ascribed the whole of their distress to the avarice of the patricians; who, having purchased all the corn, as was alleged, intended to indemnify themselves for the abolition of debts, by selling it out to great advantage. But plenty soon after appeased them for a time. A fleet of ships laden with corn from Sicily once more raised their spirits.

But Coriolanus incurred their resentment, by insisting that the corn should not be distributed, till the grievances of the senate were removed. For this, the tribunes summoned him to a trial before the people. When the appointed day was come, all persons were filled with the greatest expectations, and a vast concourse from the adjacent country assem-

bled and filled the forum. Coriolanus presented himself before the people, with a degree of intrepidity that merited better fortune. His graceful person, his persuasive eloquence, and the cries of those whom he had saved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. But, being unable to answer what was alleged against him to the satisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded with a new charge, of having embezzled the plunder of Antium, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

This sentence against their bravest defender struck the senate with sorrow, consternation, and regret. Coriolanus alone, in the midst of the tumult, seemed an unconcerned spectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of the most respectable senators and citizens, to take a lasting leave of his wife, his children, and his mother Veturia. Thus recommending all to the care of Heaven, he left the city without followers or fortune, to take refuge with Tullus Attius, a man of great power among the Volscians, who took him under his protection, and espoused his quarrel.

The first thing to be done was to induce the Volsci to break the league, which had been made with Rome; and for this purpose Tullus sent many of his citizens thither, with a pretence to see some games at that time celebrating; but gave the senate private information, that the strangers had dangerous intentions of burning the city. This had the desired effect; the senate issued an order, that all strangers,



whoever they were, should depart from Rome before sunset. This order Tullus represented to his countrymen as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to Rome, complaining of the breach, and re-demanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed; declaring war in case of a refusal; but this message was treated by the senate with contempt.

War being thus declared on both sides, Coriolanus and Tullus were made generals of the Volscians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories; ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the plebeians, but letting those of the senators remain untouched. In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome; the two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed but little skilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general, whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also showed their fears, and slowly brought in their succours: so that Coriolanus continued to take their towns one after the other. Fortune followed him in every expedition, and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless, to follow him into the field. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length invested the city of Rome itself, fully resolved to besiege it. It was then the senate and the people unanimously agreed

to send deputies to him with proposals of restoration, in case he should draw off his army. Coriolanus received their proposals at the head of his principal officers, and with the sternness of a general that was to give the law, refused their offers.

Another embassy was now sent forth, conjuring him not to exact from his native city aught but what became Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, naturally severe, still persisted in his former demands, and granted them only three days in which to finish their deliberations. In this exigence all that was left to be done was another deputation still more solemn than either of the former, composed of the pontiffs, priests, and augurs. These clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, issued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror : but all in vain, they found him severe and inflexible.

When the people saw them return ineffectually, they began to give up the commonwealth as lost. Their temples were filled with old men, with women and children, who, prostrate at their altars, put up their ardent prayers for the preservation of their country. Nothing was to be heard but anguish and lamentation, nothing to be seen but scenes of affright and distress. At length, it was suggested to them, that what could not be effected by the intercession of the senate, or the adjuration of the priests, might be brought about by the tears of a wife, or the commands of a mother. This deputation seemed to be relished by all, and even the senate itself gave it

the sanction of their authority. Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, at first made some hesitation to undertake so pious a work, knowing the inflexible temper of her son, and fearing only to show his disobedience in a new point of light, by his rejecting the commands of a parent : however, she at last undertook the embassy, and set forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and his two children. Coriolanus, who at a distance discovered this mournful train of females, was resolved to give them a denial, and called his officers round him to be witnesses of his resolution ; but, when told that his mother and his wife were among the number, he instantly came down from his tribunal, to meet and embrace them. At first the women's tears and embraces took away the power of words, and the rough soldier himself, hardy as he was, could not refrain from sharing their distress. Coriolanus now seemed much agitated by contending passions : while his mother, who saw him moved, seconded her words by the most persuasive eloquence, that of tears : his wife and children hung round him, entreating for protection and pity ; while the female train, her companions, added their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's distress. Coriolanus, for a moment, was silent, feeling the strong conflict between honour and inclination ; at length, as if roused from his dream, he flew to take up his mother, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, « Oh ! my mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son, » He

accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, pretending to the officers, that the city was too strong to be taken. Tullus, who had long envied Coriolanus, was not remiss in aggravating the lenity of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriolanus is said to have been slain in an insurrection of the people, and honorably buried after a late and ineffectual repentance.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome, upon the retreat of the Volscian army: but they were clouded soon after by the intrigues of Spurius Cassius, who, wanting to make himself despotic by means of the people, was found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards altering the constitution; and was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by those very people whose interest he had endeavoured to extend.

The year following, the two consuls of the former year, Manlius and Fabius, were cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agrarian law, which had been proposed some time before, for equally dividing the lands of the commonwealth among the people, was the object invariably pursued, and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays in putting it off.

The Agrarian law was a grant the senate could not think of giving up to the people. The consuls, therefore, made many delays and excuses; till at length they were once more obliged to have recourse to a dictator; and they fixed upon Quintus Cincinnatus, a man who had for some time given up

all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the senate found him holding the plough, and dressed in the mean attire of a labouring husbandman. He appeared but little elevated with the addresses of ceremony, and the pompous habits they brought him; and, upon declaring to him the senate's pleasure, he testified rather a concern, that his aid should be wanted. He naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement to the fatiguing splendors of office, and only said to his wife, as they were leading him away, « I fear, my « Atillia, that for this year our little fields must remain unsown. » Thus taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were strongly inflamed against each other. However, he was resolved to side with neither; but, by a strict attention to the interests of his country, instead of gaining the confidence of faction, to seize the esteem of all. Thus, by threats, and well-timed submission, he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and conducted himself so as to be a terror to the multitude, whenever they refused to enlist; and their greatest encourager, whenever their submission deserved it. Thus having restored that tranquillity to the people, which he so much loved himself, he again gave up the splendors of ambition, to enjoy it with a greater relish in his little farm.

Cincinnatus had not long retired from his office, — U. C. 295. — when a fresh exigence of the state once more required his assistance; the Æqui and the Volsci, who, though still worsted, still were for

renewing the war, made new inroads into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the consuls who succeeded Cincinnatus, was sent to oppose them; but being naturally timid, and rather more afraid of being conquered than desirous of victory, his army was driven into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egress. This, however, the *Æqui* had the precaution to fortify, by which the Roman army was so hemmed in on every side, that nothing remained but submission to the enemy, famine, or immediate death. Some knights, who found means of getting away privately through the enemy's camp, were the first that brought the account of this disaster to Rome. *Nothing could exceed the consternation of all ranks of people when informed of it; the senate at first thought of the other consul; but not having sufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimously turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and resolved to make him dictator.* Cincinnatus, the only person on whom Rome could now place her whole dependance, was found, as before, by the messengers of the senate, labouring in his field with cheerful industry. He was at first astonished at the ensigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to invest him; but still more at the approach of the principal of the senate, who came out to attend him. A dignity so unlooked for, however, had no effect upon the simplicity or the integrity of his manners, and being now possessed of absolute power, and called upon to nominate his master of the horse, he

chose a poor man named Tarquitiuſ, one who, like himſelf, deſpiſed riches when they led to diſhonour. Thus the ſaving a great nation was devolved upon a husbandman taken from the plough, and an obſcure ſentinel found among the dregs of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator put on a ſerene look, and entreated all thoſe who were able to bear arms, to repair before ſunſet to the Campus Martius ( the place where the levies were made ) with neceſſary arms, and provision for five days. He put himſelf at the head of theſe; and marching all night with great expedition, he arrived before day within ſight of the enemy. Upon his approach, he ordered his ſoldiers to raiſe a loud ſhout, to appriſe the conſul's army of the relief that was at hand. The *Æqui* were not a little amazed, when they ſaw themſelves between two enemies, but ſtill more when they perceived Cincinnatus making the ſtrongest entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their eſcape, and incloſing them, as they had incloſed the conſul. To prevent this a furious combat enſued : but the *Æqui*, being attacked on both ſides, and unable to reſiſt or fly, begged a ceſſation of arms. They offered the dictator his own terms : he gave them their lives; but obliged them in token of ſervitude, to paſs under the yoke, which was two ſpears ſet upright and another acroſs, in the form of a gallows, beneath which the vanquiſhed were to march. Their captains and general he made priſoners of war, being reſerved to adorn his triumph. As for the plunder of the enemy's camp, that he gave entirely up to his own

soldiers, without reserving any part for himself, or permitting those of the delivered army to have a share. Thus, having rescued a Roman army from inevitable destruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and, still more, having refused any part of the spoil, he resigned his dictatorship, after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The senate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, choosing to retire once more to his farm and his cottage, content with competence and fame.

But this repose from foreign invasion did not lessen the tumults of the city within. The clamours for the Agrarian law still continued, and still more fiercely, when *Siccius Dentatus*, a plebeian, advanced in years, but of an admirable person and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardships and his merits. This old soldier made no scruple of extolling the various achievements of his youth: indeed his merits more than supported his ostentation. He had served his country in the wars forty years; he had been an officer thirty, first a centurion, and then a tribune; he had fought one hundred and twenty battles; in which, by the force of his single arm, he had saved a multitude of lives: he had gained fourteen civic, three mural, and eight golden crowns, beside eighty-three chains, sixty bracelets, eighteen gilt spears, and twenty-three horse-trappings, nine of which were for killing his enemy in single combat: moreover, he had received forty-five wounds; all in front, and none behind.



These were his honours; yet, notwithstanding all these, he had never received any share of those lands which were won from the enemy; but continued to drag on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were possessed of those very territories, which his valour had won, without any merit to deserve them, or ever having contributed to the conquest. A case of so much hardship had a strong effect upon the multitude; they unanimously demanded, that the law might be passed, and that such merit should not go unrewarded. It was in vain that some of the senators rose up to speak against it; their voices were drowned by the cries of the people. When reason, therefore, could no longer be heard, passion, as usual, succeeded; and the young patricians, running furiously into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and dispersed the multitude that offered to oppose them. For this they were some time after fined by the tribunes: their resolution, however, for the present, put off the Agrarian law.

.....

## CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE DECEMVIRI, TO THE  
EXTINCTION OF THAT OFFICE. — U. C. 302.

THE Commonwealth of Rome had now for near sixty years been fluctuating between the contending orders that composed it, till, at length, each side, as if weary, was willing to respire a while from the mutual exertions of their claims. The citizens, of

every rank, began to complain of the arbitrary decisions of their magistrates, and wished to be guided by a written body of laws, which, being known, might prevent wrongs, as well as punish them. In this both the senate and the people concurred, as hoping that such laws would put an end to the commotions, that so long had harrassed the state. It was there-upon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to bring home such laws thence, as by experience had been found most equitable and useful. For this purpose, three senators, Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and gallics assigned to convoy them, agreeably to the majesty of the Roman people. While they were upon this commission abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and supplied the interval of their absence with other anxiety than that of wishes for their return. In about a year the plague ceased, and the ambassadors returned, bringing home a body of laws, collected from the most civilized states of Greece and Italy; which, being afterward formed into ten tables, and two more being added, made that celebrated code, called The Laws of the Twelve Tables.

The ambassadors were no sooner returned, than the tribunes required, that a body of men should be chosen to digest their new laws into proper form, and to give weight to the execution of them. After long debate whether this choice should not be made from the people as well as the patricians, it was at last agreed that ten of the principal senators should

be elected, whose power, continuing for a year, should be equal to that of kings and consuls, and that without any appeal. Thus the whole constitution of the senate at once took a new form, and a dreadful experiment was going to be tried, of governing one nation, by laws formed from the manners and customs of another.

These decemviri being now invested with absolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, each to administer justice for a day. For the first year they wrought with extreme application; and their work being finished, it was expected that they would be contented to give up their offices; but having known the charms of power, they were unwilling to resign; they pretended that some laws were yet wanting to complete their design, and entreated the senate for a continuance of their offices : to which that body assented.

But they soon threw off the mask of moderation, and, regardless of the approbation of the senate or the people, resolved to continue against all order in the decemvirate. A conduct so tyrannical produced discontent, and these were as sure to produce fresh acts of tyranny. The city was become almost a desert, with respect to all who had any thing to lose, and the rapacity of the decemviri was then only discontinued, when they wanted fresh subjects to exercise it upon. In this state of slavery, proscription, and mutual distrust, not one citizen was found to strike for his country's freedom; these tyrants continued to rule without control, being constantly

guarded, not by the lictors alone, but a numerous crowd of dependents, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated round them.

In this gloomy situation of the state, the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, those constant enemies of the Romans, renewed their incursions, and resolving to profit by the intestine divisions of the people, advanced within about ten miles of Rome.

But the decemviri being put into possession of all the military, as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; of which one continued with Appius in the city, to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one against the *Æqui*, and the other against the *Volsci*. The Roman soldiers had now got into a method of punishing the generals whom they disliked, by suffering themselves to be vanquished in the field. They put it in practice upon this occasion, and shamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy. Never was victorious news more joyfully received at Rome, than the tidings of this defeat; the generals, as is always the case, were blamed for the treachery of their men; some demanded that they should be deposed, others cried out for a dictator to lead the troops to conquest; but, among the rest, old Siccus Dentatus, the tribune, spoke his sentiments with his usual openness; and treating the generals with contempt, showed all the faults of their discipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius, in the mean time, was not remiss in observing the disposition of the people.

Dentatus in particular was marked out for vengeance; and, under pretence of doing him particular honour he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the supplies, which were sent from Rome, to reinforce the army. The office of legate was held sacred among the Romans, as in it were united the authority of a general, with the reverence due to the priesthood. Dentatus, no way suspecting the design, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of respect. But the generals soon found means of indulging their desire of revenge. He was appointed at the head of a hundred men, to go and examine a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly assured the commanders, that their present situation was wrong. The soldiers, however, who were given as his attendants, were assassins; wretches who had long been ministers of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who now engaged to murder him, though with all those apprehensions which his reputation (for he was called the Roman Achilles) might be supposed to inspire. With these designs, they led him into the hollow bosom of a retired mountain, where they began to set upon him from behind. Dentatus too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could; he therefore put his back to a rock, and defended himself against those who pressed most closely. Though now grown old, he had still the remains of his former valour, and, with his own hand, killed no less than fifteen of the assailants, and woun-

ded thirty. The assassins now, therefore, terrified at his amazing bravery, showered their javelins upon him at a distance, all which he received in his shield with undaunted resolution. The combat, though so unequal in numbers, was managed for some time with doubtful success, till, at length, his assailants bethought themselves of ascending the rock, against which he stood, and poured down stones upon him from above. This succeeded; the old soldier fell beneath their united efforts; after having shown by his death, that he owed to his fortitude, and not his fortune, that he had come off so many times victorious. The decemviri pretended to join in the general sorrow for so brave a man, and decreed him a funeral with the first military honours: but their pretended grief, compared with their known hatred, only rendered them still more detestable to the people.

But a transaction still more atrocious than the former served to inspire the citizens with a resolution to break all measures of obedience, so as at last to restore freedom.

Appius, sitting one day on his tribunal to dispense justice, saw a maiden of exquisite beauty, aged about fifteen, passing to one of the public schools, attended by a matron, her nurse. The charms of the damsel, heightened by all the innocence of virgin modesty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as she passed, he found her still more beautiful, and his breast still more inflamed. He now, therefore, resolved to obtain the gratification of his passion, whatever should be the consequence,

and found means to inform himself of the virgin's name and family. Her name was Virginia. She was the daughter of Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, who had agreed to marry her at the end of the present campaign. Appius, at first, resolved to break this match, and to espouse her himself; but the laws of the Twelve Tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians, and he could not infringe these, as he was the enactor of them. Nothing therefore remained but a criminal enjoyment, which, as he was long used to the indulgence of his passions, he resolved to obtain. After having vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of her nurse, he had recourse to another expedient, still more wicked. He fixed upon one Claudius, who had long been the minister of his pleasures, to assert that the beautiful maid was his slave, and to refer the cause to Appius's tribunal for decision. Claudius behaved exactly according to his instructions; for, taking with him a band of ruffians like himself, he entered into the public school, where Virginia was found among her female companions, and seizing upon her, under pretence that she was the daughter of one of his slaves, was dragging her away, when he was prevented by the people drawn together by her cries. At length, after the first heat of opposition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Appius, and there plausibly exposed his pretensions. Claudius asserted that she was born in his house, of a female slave,

who sold her to the wife of Virginus, who had been childless. That he had credible evidence to prove the truth of what he advanced; but that, as the facts could not come together, it was but reasonable the same should be delivered into his custody, he being her proper master. Appius pretended to be struck with the justice of his claim: he observed, that if the reputed father himself were present, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maid, but that it was not lawful for him, in the present case, to detain her from her master. He, therefore, adjudged her to Claudius, as his slave, to be kept by him till Virginus should arrive, and be able to prove his paternity. This sentence was received with loud clamours and reproaches by the multitude, particularly by the women, who came round the innocent Virginia, desirous to protect her from the judge's fury; while Icilius, her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. All things now threatened an open insurrection, when Appius, fearing the event thought proper to suspend his judgment till the arrival of Virginus, who was then about eleven miles from Rome with the army. The day following was fixed for the trial. In the meantime Appius privately sent letters to the general to confine Virginus, as his arrival in town might only serve to kindle sedition among the people. These letters, however, being intercepted by the centurion's friends, they sent him a full relation of the design laid against the liberty and the honour of his

1. I was young  
sions of  
a justice.  
he power  
idge Vir-  
plaintiff.  
itude, and  
himself of  
his com-  
round the  
were de-  
s; the mul-  
Virginus,  
equiesce in  
treated of  
revel of a  
as his own,  
is duty with  
r, upon cons-  
ss in his pre-  
ag a dreadful  
rginius, with  
almost expi-  
supported her  
y the tears  
tenderly em-  
oly to some  
um, snatched  
child, » cried  
ay power to  
6.



only daughter. Virginius, upon this, pretending the death of a near relation, got permission to leave the camp, and hastened to Rome, inspired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly, the next day, to the astonishment of Appius, he appeared before the tribunal, leading his weeping daughter by the hand; both of them habited in deep mourning. Claudius, the accuser, began by making his demand, Virginius next spoke in turn; he represented, that his wife married young; had early bore a child; had been seen pregnant by numbers. That, if he had intentions of adopting a supposititious child, he should have fixed upon a boy, rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all, that his wife had herself suckled this daughter; and that it was surprising such a claim should be made after a fifteen years silence; and not till Virginia was become marriageable, and acknowledged to be exquisitely beautiful. While the father spoke this with a stern air, the eyes of all were turned on Virginia, who stood trembling with looks of persuasive eloquence and excessive grief, which added weight to his remonstrances, and excited compassion. The people, satisfied of the cruelty of his case, raised an outcry, expressive of their indignation. Appius, fearing that what had been said might have a dangerous effect upon the multitude, and under a pretence of being sufficiently instructed in the merits of the cause, with rage interrupted him. « Yes, » said he, « my conscience obliges me « to declare, that I myself am a witness to the truth « of the deposition of Claudius. Most of this assem-

« bly know, that I was left guardian to him. I was  
« early apprised, that he had a right to this young  
« slave; but public affairs, and the dissensions of  
« the people, have prevented my doing him justice.  
« However, it is not now too late; and by the power  
« vested in me for the general good, I adjudge Vir-  
« ginia to be the property of Claudius, the plaintiff.  
« Go, therefore, lictors, disperse the multitude, and  
« make room for the master to repossess himself of  
« his slave. » The lictors, in obedience to his com-  
mand, drove off the throng that pressed round the  
tribunal: they seized upon Virginia, and were de-  
livering her up into the hands of Claudius; the mul-  
titude were terrified, and withdrew; and Virginius,  
*who found that all was over, seemed to acquiesce in  
the sentence. He, however, mildly intreated of*  
Appius, to be permitted to take a last farewell of a  
child, whom he had at least considered as his own,  
and, so satisfied, he would return to his duty with  
fresh alacrity. Appius granted the favour, upon con-  
dition that their endearments should pass in his pre-  
sence. But Virginius was then meditating a dreadful  
resolution. The crowd made way, and Virginius, with  
the most poignant anguish, taking his almost expir-  
ing daughter in his arms, for a while supported her  
head upon his breast, and wiped away the tears  
that trickled down her cheeks. He most tenderly em-  
braced her, and drawing her insensibly to some  
shops which were on the side of the forum, snatched  
up a butcher's knife. « My dearest, lost child, » cried  
Virginius, « thus! thus alone is it in my power to

preserve your honour and your freedom! » So saying he plunged the weapon into her heart. Then drawing it out, reeking with her blood, he held it up to Appius. — « Tyrant, » cried he, « by this blood I « devote thy head to the infernal gods! » Thus saying, and covered with his daughter's blood, the knife remaining in his hand, threatening destruction to whoever should oppose him, he ran through the city, wildly calling upon the people to strike for freedom. By the favour of the multitude he then mounted his horse and rode directly to the camp.

He no sooner arrived, followed by a number of his friends, than he informed the army of all that had been done, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. He asked their pardon, and the pardon of the gods, for having committed so rash an action, but ascribed it to the dreadful necessity of the times. The army, already predisposed, immediately with shouts echoed their approbation, and, decamping, left the generals behind to take their station once more upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other army which had been to oppose the Sabines, felt a like resentment, and came over in large parties to join them.

Appius, in the mean time, did all he could to quell the disturbance in the city; but finding the tumult incapable of control, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the most active in opposition, at first attempted to find safety by flight; nevertheless, being encouraged by Oppius, who was one of his colleagues, he ventured

to assemble the senate, and urged the punishment of all deserters. The senate, however, were far from giving him the relief he sought for : they foresaw the dangers and miseries that threatened the state, in case of opposing the incensed army ; they therefore dispatched messengers to them, offering to restore their former mode of government. To this proposal all the people joyfully assented, and the army, gladly obeying, now returned to the city, if not with the ensigns, at least with the pleasure, of a triumphant entry. Appius and Oppius both died by their own hands in prison. The other eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was driven out to banishment.

*In the mean time*, these intestine tumults produced weakness within the state, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The wars with the Æqui and Volsci still continued ; and, as each year some trifling advantage was obtained over the Romans, they at last advanced so far as to make their incursions to the very walls of Rome. But not the courage only of the Romans, — U. C. 309. — their other virtues also, particularly their justice, seemed diminished by these contests.

*The tribunes of the people* now grew more turbulent : they proposed two laws ; one to permit plebeians to intermarry with patricians ; and the other to permit them to be admitted to the consulship also. The senators received these proposals with indignation, and seemed resolved to undergo the utmost extremities, rather than submit to enact them. How-

ever, finding their resistance only increased the commotions of the state, they, at last consented to pass the law concerning marriages, hoping that this concession would satisfy the people. But they were to be appeased for a very short time only; for, returning to their old custom of refusing to enlist upon the approach of an enemy, the consuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the senate; where, after many debates, Claudius proposed an expedient, as the most probable means of satisfying the people in the present conjuncture. This was, to create six or eight governors in the room of consuls, whereof one half, at least, should be patricians. This project, which was, in fact, granting what the people demanded, pleased the whole meeting; and it was agreed, that the consuls should, contrary to their usual custom, begin by asking the opinion of the youngest senator. Upon assembling the senate, one of the tribunes accused them of holding secret meetings, and managing dangerous designs against the people. The consuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence; and, to demonstrate their sincerity, gave leave to any of the young members of the house to propound their opinions. These remaining silent, such of the older senators, as were known to be popular, began by observing, that the people ought to be indulged in their request; that none so well deserved power, as those who were most instrumental in gaining it; and that the city could not be free, until all were reduced to perfect equality. Claudius spoke next, and broke out into bitter invecti-

ves against the people; asserting that it was his opinion, that the law should not pass. This produced some disturbance among the plebeians; at length, Genutius proposed, as had been preconcerted, that six governors should be annually chosen, with consular authority, three from the senate, and three from the people; and that when the time of their magistracy should be expired, then it would be seen, whether they would have the same office continued, or whether the consulship should be established upon its former footing. This project was eagerly embraced by the people: yet so fickle were the multitude, that, though many of the plebeians stood candidates, they chose only the patricians who had offered themselves. These new magistrates were called *Military Tribunes*; — U. C. 310. — they were at first but three, afterwards they were increased to four, and at length to six. They had the power and insigns of consuls; yet that power being divided among a number, each singly was of less authority. The first that were chosen continued in office about three months only, the augurs having found something amiss in the ceremonies of their election.

The military tribunes being deposed, the consuls once more came into office; and, in order to lighten the weight of business, which they were obliged to sustain, a new office was erected; namely, that of censors, to be chosen every fifth year. Their business was to take an estimate of the number and estates of the people, and to distribute them into their proper classes; to inspect into the lives and manners

of their fellow-citizens; to degrade senators for misconduct; to dismount knights, and to turn down plebeians from their tribes into an inferior class, in case of misdemeanour. The two first censors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order censors continued to be elected for near a hundred years.

This new creation served to restore peace for some time among the orders; and a triumph gained over the Volscians by Geganius, the consul, added to the universal satisfaction that reigned among the people.

This calm, however, was but of short continuance: — U. C. 313. — for some time after, famine pressing hard upon the poor, the usual complaints against the rich were renewed; and these, as before, proving ineffectual, produced new seditions. The consuls were accused of neglect, in not having laid in proper quantities of corn: they, however, disregarded the murmurs of the populace, content with exerting all their care in attempts to supply the pressing necessities. But though they did all that could be expected from active magistrates, in providing and distributing provision to the poor; yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had bought up all the corn of Tuscany, by far outshone them in liberality. This demagogue, inflamed with a secret desire of becoming powerful by the contentions in the state, distributed corn in great quantities among the poorer sort each day, till his house became the asylum of all such as wished to exchange a life of labour for one

of a lazy dependence. When he had thus gained a sufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be brought into his house by night, and formed a conspiracy, by which he was to obtain the command, while some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him, in seizing upon the liberties of his country. Minutius soon discovered the plot, and informing the senate, they immediately formed a resolution of creating a dictator, who should have the power of quelling the conspiracy, without appealing to the people. Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, was chosen once more to rescue his country from impending danger. He began by summoning Mælius to appear; who refused to obey. He next sent Ahala the master of the horse, to force him; when meeting him in the forum, on his refusal, Ahala killed him upon the spot. The dictator applauded the resolution of his officer, and commanded the conspirator's goods to be sold, and his house to be demolished; distributing his stores among the people.

The tribunes of the people were much enraged at the death of Mælius; and, in order to punish the senate at the next election, instead of consuls, insisted upon restoring their military tribunes. The senate were obliged to comply. — U. C. 315. — The next year, however, the government returned to its ancient channel, and consuls were chosen.

The Veians had long been the rivals of Rome; they had ever taken the opportunity of internal distresses to ravage its territories, and had even threat-



ened its ambassadors, sent to complain of these injuries, with outrage. It seemed now therefore determined, that the city of Veii, whatever it might cost, should fall; and the Romans accordingly sat regularly down before it, and prepared for a long and painful resistance. The strength of the place may be inferred from the continuance of the siege, which lasted for ten years; during which time the army continued encamping round it, lying, in winter, under tents, made of the skins of beasts, and in summer driving on the operations of the attack. Various was the success, and many were the commanders that directed the siege; sometimes all their works were destroyed, and many of their men cut off by sallies from the town; sometimes they were annoyed by an army of Veians, who attempted to bring assistance from without. A siege so bloody, seemed to threaten depopulation to Rome itself, by a continual drain of its forces; so that a law was obliged to be made, for all bachelors to marry the widows of the soldiers who were slain. Furius Camillus was now created dictator, and to him was intrusted the sole power of managing the longprotracted war. Camillus, who, without intrigue or any solicitation, had raised himself to the first eminence in the state, had been made one of the censors some time before, and was considered as the head of that office; he was afterwards made a military tribune, and had in this post gained several advantages over the enemy. It was his great courage and ability in the above offices, that made him be

thought most worthy to serve his country on this pressing occasion. Upon his appointment, numbers of the people flocked to his standard, confident of success under so experienced a commander. Conscious, however, that he was unable to take the city by storm, he with vast labour opened a passage under ground, which led into the very midst of the citadel. Certain thus of success, and finding the city incapable of relief, he sent to the senate, desiring, that all who chose to share in the plunder of Veii, should immediately repair to the army. Then giving his directions how to enter at the breach, the city was instantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and consternation of the besieged, who, but a moment before, had rested in perfect security. Thus, like a second Troy, was the city of Veii taken, after a ten years' siege, and, with its spoils, enriched the conquerors; while Camillus himself, transported with the honour of having subdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn by four milk-white horses; a distinction which did not fail to disgust the majority of the spectators, as they considered those as sacred, and more proper for doing honour to their gods than their generals.

His usual good fortune attended Camillus in another expedition against the Falisci. He routed their army, and besieged their capital city Falerii, which threatened a long and vigourous resistance. The reduction of this little place would have been scarce worth mentioning in this scanty page, were it not

for an action of the Roman-general, that has done him more credit with posterity, than all his other triumphs united. A school-master, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men in the city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the surest means of inducing the citizens to a speedy surrender. The general, struck with the treachery of a wretch, whose duty it was to protect innocence, and not to betray it, for some time regarded the traitor with a stern silence; but at last finding words, « Execrable villain! » cried the noble Roman, « offer thy abominable proposals to creatures like thyself, and not to me: what, though we be the enemies of your city, are there not natural ties that bind all mankind, which should never be broken? There are duties required from us in war, as well as in peace: we fight not against the age of innocence, but against men—men who have used us ill indeed, but yet whose crimes are virtues, when compared to thine. Against such base arts, let it be my duty to use only the Roman ones — valour and arms. » So saying, he ordered him to be stripped, his hands to be tied behind him, and in that ignominious manner, to be whipped into the town by his own scholars. This generous behaviour in Camillus effected more than his arms could do; the magistrates of the town submitted to the senate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their surrender; who only fined them a sum of money to satisfy his army, and received them under the protection, and into the alliance of Rome.

Notwithstanding the veneration which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, they seemed but little adapted to command the respect of the turbulent tribunes at home, who raised fresh accusations against him every day. To the charge of being an opposer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates, for his own use, and appointed him a day, on which to appear before the people. Camillus, finding the multitude exasperated against him upon many accounts, and detesting their ingratitude, resolved not to await the ignominy of a trial; but, embracing his wife and children, prepared to depart from Rome. *He had already passed as far as one of the gates, unattended, unlamented.* There he could suppress his indignation no longer, but, turning his face to the Capitol, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, entreated all the gods, that his country might one day be sensible of their injustice and ingratitude. So saying, he passed forward to take refuge at Ardea, a town at a little distance from Rome, where he afterward learned, that he had been fined a hundred and fifty denarii by the tribunes at home.

The tribunes were not a little pleased with their triumph over this great man; but they soon had reason to repent their injustice, and to wish for the assistance of one, who alone was able to protect their country from ruin. For now a more terrible and redoubtable enemy, than the Romans had ever yet encountered, began to make their appearance.

The Gauls, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern parts of Italy. They had been invited over by the deliciousness of the wines, and the softness of the climate. Wherever they came, they dispossessed the original inhabitants, as they were men of superior courage, extraordinary stature, fierce in aspect, barbarous in their manners, and prone to emigration. A body of these, wild from their original habitations, were now besieging Clusium, a city of Etruria, under the conduct of Brennus, their king. The inhabitants of Clusium, frightened at their numbers, and still more at their savage appearance, entreated the assistance, or, at least, the mediation of the Romans. The senate, who had long made it a maxim, never to refuse succour to the distressed, were willing previously, to send ambassadors to the Gauls, to dissuade them from their enterprise, and to show the injustice of the irruption. Accordingly, three young senators were chosen out of the family of the Fabii, to manage the commission, who seemed more fitted for the field than the cabinet. Brennus received them with a degree of complaisance, that argued but little of the barbarian, and desiring to know the business of their embassy, was answered, according to their instructions, that it was not customary in Italy to make war, but on just grounds of provocation, and that they desired to know what offence the citizens of Clusium had given to the king of the Gauls? To this Brennus sternly replied, that the rights of va-

liant men lay in their swords; that the Romans themselves had no right to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reasons of resentment against the people of Clusium, as they refused to part with those lands, which they had neither hands to till, nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambassadors, who were but little used to hear the language of a conqueror, for a while dissembled their resentment at this haughty reply; but upon entering the besieged city, instead of acting as ambassadors, and forgetful of their sacred characters, headed the citizens in a sally against the besiegers. In this combat Fabius Ambustus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was discovered in the act of despoiling him of his armour. A conduct so unjust and unbecoming excited the resentment of Brennus, who, having made his complaint by a herald to the senate, and finding no redress, broke up the siege, and marched away with his conquering army directly for Rome.

The countries through which the Gauls made their rapid progress gave up all hopes of safety upon their approach; being terrified at their numbers, the fierceness of their natures, and their dreadful preparations for war. But the rage and impetuosity of this wild people were directed solely against Rome. They went on without doing the least injury in their march, breathing vengeance only against the Romans. A terrible engagement soon after ensued, in which the Romans were defeated near the river Allia, with the loss of about forty thousand men.

Rome, thus deprived of succour, prepared for every extremity. The inhabitants endeavoured to hide themselves in the neighbouring towns, or resolved to wait the conqueror's fury, and end their lives with the ruin of their native city. But, more particularly, the ancient senators and priests, struck with a religious enthusiasm, on this occasion, resolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and, habited in their robes of ceremony, placed themselves in the forum, on their ivory chairs. The Gauls, in the mean time, were giving a loose to their triumph, in sharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemies' camp. Had they immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the Capitol had been taken; but they continued two days feasting upon the field of battle, and, with barbarous pleasure, exulting amidst their slaughtered enemies. On the third day after the easy victory, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city. He was at first much surprised to find the gates open to receive him, and the walls defenceless; so that he began to impute the unguarded situation of the place to a Roman stratagem. After proper precaution, he entered the city, and, marching into the forum, beheld there the ancient senators sitting in their order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable looks of these old men, who had all borne the highest offices of state, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence: they mistook them for the tutelar deities of the place, and began

to offer blind adoration; till one more forward than the rest, put forth his hand to stroke the beard of Papyrius, an insult the noble Roman could not endure; he lifted up his ivory sceptre, and struck the savage to the ground. This proved to be a signal for general slaughter. Papyrius fell first, and all the rest shared his fate, without mercy or distinction. The fierce invaders pursued their slaughter for three days successively, sparing neither sex nor age; then setting fire to the city, burned every house to the ground.

All the hopes of Rome were now placed in the Capitol; — U. C. 364. — every thing without that fortress formed an extensive scene of misery, desolation and despair. Brennus first summoned it, with threats, to surrender, but in vain; then, resolving to besiege it in form, hemmed it round with his army. The Romans, however, repelled the attempt with great bravery; despair had supplied them with that perseverance and vigour, which they seemed to want when in prosperity.

In the mean while, Brennus carried on the siege with extreme ardour. He hoped to starve the garrison into a capitulation; but they, sensible of his intent, although in actual want, caused loaves to be thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of such expectations. His hopes were soon after revived, when some of his soldiers came to inform him, that they had discovered footsteps which led up to the rock, by which they supposed the Capitol might be surprised. Accordingly, a chosen body of his men were ordered by night upon this dangerous



service, which with great labour and difficulty they almost effected. They were got upon the very wall; the Roman sentinel was fast asleep; their dogs within gave no signal, and all promised an instant victory, when the garrison was awakened by the gabbling of some sacred geese, that had been kept in the temple of Juno. The besieged soon perceived the imminence of their danger, and each, snatching the weapon he could instantly find, ran to oppose the assailants. M. Manlius, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, was the first who exerted all his strength, and inspired courage by his example. He boldly mounted the rampart, and, at one effort, threw two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others soon came to his assistance, and the walls were cleared of the enemy in a space of time shorter than what might be employed in the recital.

From this time forward the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus wished for an opportunity of raising the siege with credit. His soldiers had often conferences with the besieged while upon duty, and the proposals for an accommodation were wished for by the common men, before the chiefs thought of a congress. At length the commanders on both sides came to an agreement, that the Gauls should immediately quit the city and territories, upon being paid a thousand pounds' weight of gold. This agreement being confirmed by oath on either side, the gold was brought forth. But, upon weighing, the Gauls attempted fraudulently to kick the beam, of which the Romans complaining, Bren-

nus insultingly cast his sword and belt into the scale, crying out that the only portion of the vanquished was to suffer. By this reply, the Romans saw that they were at the victor's mercy; and knew it was in vain to expostulate against any conditions he should be pleased to impose. But while they were thus debating upon the payment, it was told them, that Camillus, their old general, was at the head of a large army, hastening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. Camillus actually appeared soon after, and entering the place of controversy, with the air of one who was resolved not to suffer imposition, demanded the cause of the contest; of which being informed, he ordered the gold to be taken and carried back to the Capitol, « For it has ever  
« been, » cried he, « the manner with us Romans, to  
« ransom our country, not with gold but with iron;  
« it is I only that am to make peace, as being the  
« dictator of Rome, and *my* sword alone shall pur-  
« chase it. » Upon this a battle ensued; the Gauls were entirely routed; and such a slaughter followed, that the Roman territories were soon cleared of their formidable invaders. Thus, by the bravery of Camillus, was Rome delivered from its enemy.

The city being one continued heap of ruins, except the Capitol, and the greatest number of its former inhabitants having gone to take refuge in Veii, the tribunes of the people urged for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to Veii, where they might have houses to shelter, and walls to defend them. On this occasion, Camillus attempted to appease them,

with all the arts of persuasion; observing, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans and as men, to desert the venerable seats of their ancestors, where they had been encouraged by repeated marks of divine approbation; in order to inhabit a city which they had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itself. By these and such like remonstrances, he prevailed upon the people to go contentedly to work; and Rome soon began to rise from its ashes.

We have already seen the bravery of Manlius in defending the Capitol, and saving the last remains of Rome. For this the people were by no means ungrateful. They built him a house near the place where his valour was so conspicuous, and appointed him a public fund for his support. But he aspired at being more than equal to Camillus, and to be sovereign of Rome. With this view he laboured to ingratiate himself with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the patricians, whom he called their oppressors. The senate was not ignorant of his speeches or his designs, and created Cornelius Cossus dictator, with a view to curb the ambition of Manlius. The dictator soon called Manlius to an account for his conduct. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the populace to be affected by the power of Cossus, who was obliged to lay down his office, and Manlius was carried from confinement in triumph through the city. This success only served to inflame his ambition. He now began to talk of a division of the land among the people; insinuated that there

should be no distinctions in the state; and, to give weight to his discourses, always appeared at the head of a large body of the dregs of the people, whom largesses had made his followers. The city being thus filled with sedition and clamour, the senate had recourse to another expedient, which was to oppose the power of Camillus to that of the demagogue. Camillus, accordingly, being made one of the military tribunes, appointed Manlius a day to answer for his life. The place in which he was tried was near the Capitol, where, when he was accused of sedition, and aspiring at sovereignty, he only turned his eyes, and pointing thither, put them in mind of what he had there done for his country. The multitude, whose compassion or whose justice seldom springs from rational motives, refused to condemn him, so long as he pleaded in the sight of the Capitol; but when he was brought thence to the Peteline grove, where the Capitol was no longer in view, they condemned him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus, the place which had been the theatre of his glory, became that of his punishment and infamy.

His house in which his conspiracies had been secretly carried on, was ordered to be razed to the ground; and his family were forbidden ever after to assume the name of Manlius.

Thus the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and superstition within their walls, and successful enterprises without.

With what an implicit obedience they submitted

to their pontiffs, and how far they might be impelled to encounter even death itself at their command, will evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius about that time. This man, upon the opening of a gulf in the forum, — U. C. 392. — which the augurs affirmed would never close up till the most precious things in Rome were thrown into it, with his horse and armour, leaped into the midst, declaring, that nothing was more truly valuable than patriotism and military virtue.

The gulf, say the historians, closed immediately upon this, and Curtius was seen no more.

.....

## CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE WARS OF THE SAMNITES, AND THE WARS WITH PYRRHUS, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, WHEN THE ROMANS FIRST WENT OUT OF ITALY.

THE Romans had triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volscians; and now began to look for greater conquests. They accordingly turned their arms against the Samnites, a people descended from the Sabines, and inhabiting a large tract of southern Italy, which at this day makes a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two consuls, to whose care it first fell to manage this dreadful contention between the rivals.

Valerius was one of the greatest commanders of

his time; he was surnamed Corvus, from a strange circumstance of being assisted by a crow in a single combat, in which he killed a Gaul, of gigantic stature. To his colleague's care it was consigned to lead an army to Samnium, the enemy's capital, while Corvus was sent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was a captain more fitted for *command than he*. To a habit naturally robust and athletic, he joined the gentlest manners; he was the fiercest, and yet the most good-natured man in the army; and while the meanest sentinel was his companion, no man kept them more strictly to their duty: but, to complete his character, he constantly endeavoured to preserve his dignity by the same arts by which he gained it. Such soldiers as the Romans then were, hardened by their late adversity, and led on by such a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites were the bravest men they had ever yet encountered, and the contention between the two nations was managed on both sides with the most determined resolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length fled, averring, that they were not able to withstand the fierce looks and the fire-darting eyes of the Romans. Cornelius, however, was not at first so fortunate: for having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in danger of being cut off, had not Decius possessed himself of a hill which commanded the enemy; so that the Samnites, being attacked on both sides, were defeated with great slaughter; not less than thirty thousand of them being left dead upon the field.

Some time after this victory, the soldiers, who were stationed at Capua mutinying, forced Quintius, an eminent old soldier, to be their leader; and, conducted by their rage, more than their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almost at the gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius dictator, and sent him forth with an army to oppose them. The two armies were now drawn up against each other, while fathers and sons beheld themselves prepared to engage in opposite causes. Any other general than Corvus would, perhaps, have brought this civil war to extremity; but he, knowing his influence among the soldiery, instead of going forward to meet the mutineers in a hostile manner, went with the most cordial friendship to embrace and expostulate with his old acquaintances. His conduct had the desired effect. Quintius, as their speaker, solicited no more than to have their defection from their duty forgiven; and for himself, as he was innocent of their conspiracy, he had no reason to solicit pardon for offences. Thus, this defection, which threatened danger to Rome, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general, whose ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies.

A war between the Romans and Latins followed soon after. As their habits, arms, and language were the same, the most exact discipline was necessary, to prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders, therefore, were issued, that no soldier should leave

his ranks upon pain of death. With these injunctions, both armies were drawn out and ready, when Metius, the general of the enemy's cavalry, pushed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to single combat. For some time there was a general pause, no soldier daring to disobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, son of the consul Manlius, burning with shame to see the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly sallied forth against his adversary. The soldiers, on both sides, for a while suspended the general engagement, to be spectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horses against each other with great violence: Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin general, fallen to the ground, for a while attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman followed his blows, and laid him dead, as he was endeavouring to rise: then despoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement. However he might have been applauded by his fellow-soldiers, being as yet doubtful what reception he should find with his father, he came with hesitation to lay the enemy's spoils at his feet, and with a modest air insinuated, that what he had done was entirely from a spirit of hereditary virtue. Alas! he was soon dreadfully made sensible of his error; when his father, turning away, ordered him to be led publicly forth before the army. Being brought forward, the consul,



with a stern countenance, and yet with tears, spoke as follows : « Titus Manlius, as thou hast regarded  
« neither the dignity of the consulship, nor the  
« commands of a father : as thou hast destroyed military discipline, and set a pattern of disobedience by thy example, thou hast reduced me to the  
« deplorable extremity of sacrificing my son or my  
« country. But let us not hesitate in this dreadful alternative ; a thousand lives were well lost in such  
« a cause : nor do I think, that thou thyself wilt refuse to die, when thy country is to reap the advantages of thy sufferings. Lictor, bind him, and  
« let his death be our future example. » At this unnatural mandate, the whole army was struck with horror ; fear, for a while, kept them in suspense ; but when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations, and their groans. His dead body was carried forth without the camp, and, being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military distress.

In the mean time the battle joined with mutual fury ; and as the two armies had often fought under the same leaders, they combated with all the animosity of a civil war. [The Latins chiefly depended on bodily strength ; the Romans on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched seemed only to want the protection of their deities to turn the scale of victory ; and, in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman ar-

my should be distressed, the commander of that part should devote himself for his country, and die as a sacrifice to the immortal gods. Manlius commanded the right wing; and Decius the left. Both sides fought with doubtful success, as their courage was equal; but, after a time, the left wing of the Roman army began to give ground. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, resolved to devote himself for his country, and to offer his own life, as an atonement to save his army. Thus determined he called out to Manlius with a loud voice, and demanded his instructions, as he was the chief pontiff, how to devote himself, and what form of words he should use. By his directions, therefore, being clothed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms stretched forward, standing upon a javelin, he devoted himself to the celestial and infernal gods, for the safety of Rome. Then arming himself, and mounting his horse, he drove furiously into the midst of the enemy, striking terror and consternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds. In the mean time the Roman army considered his devoting himself in this manner as an assurance of success; nor was the superstition of the Latins less powerfully influenced by his resolution; a total rout began to ensue: the Romans pressed them on every side, and so great was the carnage, that scarce a fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat.

U. C. 431. — But a signal disgrace which the Romans sustained about this time in their contest with

the Samnites, made a pause in their usual good fortune, and turned the scale for a while in the enemy's favour. The senate having denied the Samnites peace, Pontius, their general, was resolved to gain by stratagem, what he had frequently lost by force. Accordingly, leading his army into a defile, called Claudium, and taking possession of all its outlets, he sent ten of his soldiers, habited like shepherds, with directions to throw themselves into the way in which the Romans were to march. Exactly to his wishes, the Roman consul met them, and, taking them for what they appeared, demanded the route the Samnite army had taken; they, with seeming indifference, replied that they were gone to Luceria, and were then actually besieging it. The Roman general, not suspecting the stratagem that was laid against him marched directly by the shortest road, which lay through the defile, to relieve the city; and was not undeceived till he saw his army surrounded, and blocked up on every side. Pontius, thus having the Romans entirely in his power, first obliged the army to pass under the yoke, after having stripped them of all but their garments. He then stipulated, that they should wholly quit the territories of the Samnites, and that they should continue to live upon the terms of their former confederacy. The Romans were constrained to submit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua disarmed, half naked, and burning with a desire of retrieving their lost honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was most surprisingly afflicted at their shameful re-

turn; nothing but grief and resentment being to be seen, and the whole city was put into mourning.

This was a transitory calamity; the state had suffered a diminution of its glory, but not of its power. The war was carried on as usual, for many years; the power of the Samnites declining every day, while that of the Romans gathered fresh vigour from every victory. Under the conduct of Papirius Cursor, repeated triumphs were gained. Fabius Maximus also had his share in the glory of conquering the Samnites; and Decius, the son of that Decius, whom we saw devoting himself for his country about forty years before, followed the example of his noble father, and, rushing into the midst of the enemy, saved the lives of his countrymen with the loss of his own.

The Samnites being driven to the most extreme distress, as they were unable to defend themselves, were obliged to call in the assistance of a foreign power, and have recourse to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to save them from impending ruin. Pyrrhus, a king of great courage, ambition, and power, who had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predecessor, before his eyes, promised to come to their assistance; and, in the mean time, dispatched a body of three thousand men, under the command of Cineas, an experienced soldier, and a scholar of the great orator Demosthenes. Nor did he himself remain long behind, but soon after put to sea with three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, with twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that

time began to place very great confidence. However, only a small part of this great armament arrived in Italy with him; for many of his ships were dispersed, and some were totally lost in a storm.

Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his first care was to reform the people whom he came to succour. Observing a total dissolution of manners in this luxurious city, and that the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleasures of bathing, feasting, and dancing, than the care of preparing for war, he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainment shut up, and that they should be restrained in such amusements as rendered soldiers unfit for battle. In the mean time, the Romans did all that prudence could suggest to oppose so formidable an enemy; and the consul Lævinus was sent with a numerous force to interrupt his progress. Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, drew out to meet him; but previously sent an ambassador, desiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this Lævinus answered, that he neither esteemed him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then, leading the ambassador through the Roman camp, desired him to observe diligently what he saw, and to report the result to his master.

In consequence of this, both armies approaching pitched their tents in sight of each other, upon the opposite banks of the river Lylis. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the situation of his own camp, and in observing that of the enemy.

Walking along the banks of the river, and surveying the Roman method of encamping, he was heard to observe, that these barbarians seemed to be no way barbarous, and that he should too soon find their actions equal to their resolution. In the mean time, ordering a body of men along the banks of the river, he placed them in readiness to oppose the Romans, in case they should attempt to ford it before his whole army was brought together. Things turned out according to his expectations; the consul, with an impetuosity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for passing the river, where it was fordable; and the advanced guard having attempted to oppose him in vain, was obliged to retire to the main body of the army. Pyrrhus, being apprised of the enemy's attempt, at first hoped to cut off their cavalry, before they could be reinforced by the foot, which were not as yet got over; and led on in person a chosen body of horse against them. The Roman legions having, with much difficulty, advanced across the river, the engagement became general; the Greeks fought with a consciousness of their former fame, and the Romans, with a desire of gaining fresh glory; mankind had never before seen two such differently disciplined armies opposed to each other; nor is it to this day determined, whether the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion were preferable. The combat was long in suspense; the Romans had seven times repulsed the enemy, and were as often driven back themselves; but, at length, while the success seemed doubtful, Pyrrhus sent his ele-

\*\*

phants into the midst of the engagement, and these turned the scale of victory in his favour. The Romans, who had never before seen creatures of such magnitude, were terrified not only with their intrepid fierceness, but with the castles that were built upon their backs, filled with armed men. It was then that Pyrrhus saw the day was his own; and, sending his Thessalian cavalry to charge the enemy in disorder, the rout became general. A dreadful slaughter of the Romans ensued, fifteen thousand men being killed on the spot, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners. Nor were the conquerors in a much better state than the vanquished, Pyrrhus himself being wounded, and thirteen thousand of his forces slain. Night coming on, put an end to the slaughter on both sides, and Pyrrhus was heard to exclaim, « That one such victory more would ruin his whole army. » The next day, as he walked to view the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration the bodies of the Romans who were slain. Upon seeing them all with their wounds in front, their countenances, even in death, marked with noble resolution, and a sternness that awed him into respect, he was heard to cry out, in the true spirit of a military adventurer, « Oh! with what ease could I conquer the world, had I the Romans for soldiers, or had they me for their king! »

Pyrrhus, after this victory, was still unwilling to drive them to an extremity, and considering that it was best to treat with an humbled enemy, he resolved to send his friend Cineas, the orator, to nego-

tiate a peace; of whom he often asserted, that he had won more towns by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms. But Cineas, with all his art, found the Romans incapable of being seduced by bribery, by private, or by public persuasion.

Being frustrated, therefore, in his expectations, he returned to his master, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. The senate, he said, appeared a reverend assembly of demigods; and the city, a temple for their reception. Of this Pyrrhus soon after became sensible, by an embassy from Rome, concerning the ransom and exchange of prisoners. At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient senator, who had long been a pattern to his countrymen of the most extreme poverty, joined to the most cheerful content. Pyrrhus received this celebrated old man with great kindness; and, willing to try how far fame had been just in his favour, offered him rich presents. But the Roman refused. The day after, he was desirous of examining the equality of his temper, and ordered to be placed behind the tapestry one of his elephants, which, upon a signal given, raised its trunk above the ambassador's head; at the same time using other arts to intimidate him. But Fabricius, with a countenance no ways changing, smiled upon the king, and told him, that he looked with an equal eye on the terrors of that day, as he had upon the allurements of the preceding. Pyrrhus, pleased to find so much virtue in one he had considered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favour which



he knew could make him happy : he released the Roman prisoners, intrusting them to Fabricius alone, upon his promise, that in case the senate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper.

U. C. 478. — By this time the Roman army was recovered from its late defeat, and Sulpicius and Decius, the consuls for the following year, were placed at its head. The panic which had formerly seized it from the elephants now began to wear off; and both armies met near the city Asculum, pretty nearly equal in numbers. And here again, after a long and obstinate fight, the Grecian discipline prevailed. The Romans, pressed on every side, particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to their camp, leaving six thousand men upon the field of battle. But the enemy had no great reason to boast of their triumph, as they had four thousand slain : Pyrrhus again observed to a soldier, who was congratulating him upon his victory : « Another such triumph, and I shall be undone. »

This battle finished the campaign. The next season began with equal vigour on both sides, Pyrrhus having received new succours from home. While the two armies were approaching, and yet but at a small distance from each other, a letter was brought to old Fabricius, the Roman general, from the king's physician, importing that, for a proper reward, he would take him off by poison, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt all the honest indignation at this base

proposal, that was consistent with his former character : he communicated it to his colleague, and instantly gave it as his opinion, that Pyrrhus should be informed of the treachery, that was plotted against him. Accordingly, letters were dispatched for this purpose, informing Pyrrhus of the affair, and alleging his unfortunate choice of friends and enemies. That he had trusted and promoted murderers, while he directed his resentment against the generous and the brave. Pyrrhus now began to find, that these bold barbarians were by degrees schooled into refinement, and would not suffer him to be their superior even in generosity : he received the message with as much amazement at their candour, as indignation at his physician's treachery. « Admirable Fabricius ! » cried he, « it would be as easy to turn « the sun from its course, as thee from the path of « honour. » Then making the proper inquiry among his servants, and having discovered the treason, he ordered his physician to be executed. And, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately sent to Rome all his prisoners without ransom, and again desired to negotiate a peace. The Romans, on the other hand, refused him peace, upon any other conditions than had been offered before.

After an interval of two years, Pyrrhus, having increased his army by new levies, sent one part of it to oppose the march of Lentulus, while he himself went to attack Curius Dentatus, before his colleague could come up. His principal aim was to surprise the enemy by night; but unfortunately passing

through woods, and his lights failing him, his men lost their way; so that, at the approach of morning, he saw himself in the sight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive him. The vanguard of both armies soon met, in which the Romans had the advantage. Soon after, a general engagement ensuing, Pyrrhus, finding the balance of the victory turning still against him, had once more recourse to his elephants. These, however, the Romans were too well acquainted with to feel any vain terrors from, and having found that fire was the most effectual means to repel them, they caused a number of balls to be made, composed of flax and resin, which were thrown against them as they approached the ranks. The elephants, thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly opposed by the soldiers, could no longer be brought on; but ran back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks and filling all places with terror and confusion. Thus, victory, at length, declared in favour of Rome. Pyrrhus, in vain, attempted to stop the flight and slaughter of his troops: he lost not only twenty-three thousand of his best soldiers, but his camp was also taken. This served as a new lesson to the Romans, who were ever open to improvement; they had formerly pitched their tents without order; but, by this new capture, they were taught to measure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; so that many of their succeeding victories are to be ascribed to their improved method of encamping.

Pyrrhus, thus finding all hopes fruitless, resolved

to leave Italy, where he found only desperate enemies and faithless allies: accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them, that he had received assurances from Greece of speedy assistance, and desiring them to wait the event with tranquillity, the night following embarked his troops, and returned undisturbed into his native kingdom with the remains of his shattered forces, leaving a garrison in Tarentum merely to save appearances; and in this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus, after six years' continuance.

As for the poor luxurious Tarentines, who were the original promoters of this war, they soon began to find a worse enemy in the garrison that was left for their defence, than in the Romans who attacked them from without. The hatred between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was become so great, that nothing but the fear of their old inveterate enemies, the Romans, could equal it. In this distress, they applied to the Carthaginians, who, with a large fleet, came and blocked up the port of Tarentum; so that this unfortunate people, once famous through Italy for their refinements and pleasures, now saw themselves contended for by three different armies, without the choice of a conqueror. At length, however, the Romans found means to bring over the garrison to their interest; after which they easily became masters of the city, and demolished its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection.



## CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND, WHEN THE ROMANS BEGAN TO GROW POWERFUL AT SEA. — U. C. 493.

THE Romans, having destroyed all rival pretensions at home, began to pant after foreign conquests. The Carthaginians were at that time in possession of the greatest part of Sicily, and, like the Romans, only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives, in order to become masters of the whole island. This opportunity at length offered. Hiero, king of Syracuse, one of the states of that island, which was not yet conquered, entreated their aid against the Mamertines, a little people of the same country, and they sent him supplies both by sea and land. The Mamertines, on the other hand, to shield off impending ruin, put themselves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, not thinking the Mamertines worthy of the name of allies, instead of professing to assist them, boldly declared war against Carthage; alleging as a reason the assistance which Carthage had lately sent to the southern parts of Italy against the Romans. In this manner a war was declared between two powerful states, both too great to continue patient spectators of each other's increase.

Carthage, a colony of the Phœnicians, was built

on the coast of Africa, near the place where Tunis now stands, about a hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome. As it had been long growing into power, so it had extended its dominions all along the coasts. But its chief strength lay in its fleets and commerce; thus circumstanced, these two great powers began what is called the First Punic War. The Carthaginians were possessed of gold and silver, which might be exhausted; the Romans were famous for perseverance, patriotism, and poverty, which gathered strength by every defeat.

But there seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle to the ambitious views of Rome, as they had no fleet, or at least what deserved that title; while the Carthaginians had the entire command at sea, and kept all the maritime towns under obedience. In such a situation, under disadvantages which nature seemed to have imposed, any people but the Romans would have rested; but nothing could conquer or intimidate them. A Carthaginian vessel in a storm happened to be driven on shore, and this was sufficient to serve as a model. They began to apply themselves to maritime affairs; and, though without shipwrights to build, or seamen to navigate a fleet, they resolved to surmount every obstacle with inflexible perseverance. The consul Duilius was the first who ventured to sea with his new-constructed armament; and, though far inferior to the enemy in the management of his fleet, yet he gained the first naval victory, the Carthaginians losing fifty of their ships, and the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea, which they valued more.

But the conquest of Sicily was only to be obtained by humbling the power of Carthage at home. For this reason the senate resolved to carry the war into Africa itself, and accordingly they sent Regulus and Manlius, with a fleet of three hundred sail, to make the invasion. Regulus was reckoned the most consummate warrior that Rome could then produce, and a professed example of frugal severity. His patriotism was still greater than his temperance; all private passions seemed extinguished in him, at least they were swallowed up in one great ruling affection, the love of his country. The two generals set sail with their fleet, which was the greatest that had ever yet left an Italian port, carrying a hundred and forty thousand men. They were met by the Carthaginians with a fleet equally powerful, and men more used to the sea. While the fight continued, rather between the ships than the men, at a distance, the Carthaginians seemed successful; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference between a mercenary army, and one that fought for fame, was apparent. The resolution of the Romans was crowned with success: the enemy's fleet were dispersed, and fifty-four of their vessels taken. The consequence of this victory was an immediate descent upon the coast of Africa, and the capture of the city Clupea, together with twenty thousand men, who were made prisoners of war.

The senate being informed of these great successes, and applied to for fresh instructions, commanded Manlius back to Italy, in order to superintend

the Sicilian war ; and directed that Regulus should continue in Africa, to prosecute his victories there.

A battle ensued, in which Carthage was once more defeated, and some of its best troops were cut off. This fresh victory contributed to throw them into the utmost despair; for more than eighty of their towns submitted to the Romans. In this distress, the Carthaginians, destitute of generals at home, were obliged to send to Lacedemon, offering the command of their armies to Xantippus, a general of great experience, who undertook to conduct them.

This general began by giving the magistrates proper instructions for levying their men : he assured them that their armies were hitherto overthrown, not by the strength of the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own generals; he, therefore, required a ready obedience to his orders, and he assured them of an easy victory. The whole city seemed once more revived from despondence, by the exhortations of a single stranger; and soon, from hope, grew into confidence. This was the spirit the Grecian general wished to excite in them; so that, when he saw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The Lacedemonian made the most skilful disposition of his forces : he placed his cavalry in the wings; he disposed the elephants, at proper intervals, behind the line of the heavy-armed infantry; and, bringing up the light-armed troops before, he ordered them to retire through the line of infantry, after they had discharged their weapons. At length, both armies engaging, after a long and



obstinate resistance, the Romans were overthrown with dreadful slaughter; the greatest part of their army being destroyed, and Regulus himself taken prisoner. Several other distresses of the Romans followed soon after this. They lost their fleet in a storm; and Agrigentum, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by Karthalo, the Carthaginian general. They undertook to build a new fleet, which shared the fate of the former; for the mariners, as yet unacquainted with the Mediterranean shores, drove upon quicksands; and, soon after, the greater part perished in a storm.

The Carthaginians, being thus successful, were desirous of a new treaty for peace, hoping to have better terms than those insisted upon by Regulus. They supposed that he, whom they had now for four years kept in a dungeon, confined and chained, would be a proper solicitor. It was expected, that being wearied with imprisonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to persuade his countrymen to a discontinuance of the war, which prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly sent with their ambassadors to Rome, under a promise, previously exacted from him, to return in case of being unsuccessful. He was even given to understand, that his life depended upon the success of his negociation.

When this old general, together with the ambassadors of Carthage, approached Rome, numbers of his friends came out to meet and congratulate his return. Their acclamations resounded through the city; but Regulus refused, with settled melancholy,



to enter the gates. In vain he was entreated on every side to visit once more his little dwelling, and share in that joy which his return had inspired. He persisted in saying, that he was now a slave belonging to the Carthaginians, and unfit to partake in the liberal honours of his country. The senate assembling without the walls, as usual, to give audience to the ambassadors, Regulus opened his commission as he had been directed by the Carthaginian council, and their ambassadors seconded his proposals. The senate themselves, who were weary of a war, which had been protracted above eight years, were no way disinclinable to a peace. It only remained for Regulus himself to give his opinion. When it came to his turn to speak, to the surprise of the whole, he gave his voice for continuing the war. So unexpected an advice not a little disturbed the senate: they pitied, as well as admired, a man who had used such eloquence against his private interest, and could not conclude upon a measure, which was to terminate in his ruin. But he soon relieved their embarrassment, by breaking off the treaty, and by rising in order to return to his bonds and his confinement. In vain did the senate and his dearest friends entreat his stay: he still repressed their solicitations. Marcia, his wife, with her children, vainly éntreated to be permitted to see him: he still obstinately persisted in keeping his promise; and, though sufficiently apprised of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family, or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambassadors for Carthage.

\*\*

Nothing could equal the fury and the disappointment of the Carthaginians, when they were informed by their ambassadors, that Regulus, instead of hastening a peace, had given his opinion for continuing the war. They accordingly prepared to punish his conduct with the most studied tortures. His eyelids were cut off, and he was remanded to prison. After some days, he was again brought out and exposed with his face opposite the burning sun. At last, when malice was fatigued with studying all the arts of torture, he was put in a sort of barrel stuck full of spikes, and in this painful position he continued till he died.

Both sides now took up arms with more than former animosity. At length, the Roman perseverance was crowned with success, one victory followed on the back of another. Fabius Buteo, the consul, once more showed them the way to naval victory, by defeating a large squadron of the enemy's ships; but Lutatius Catulus gained a victory still more complete, in which the power of Carthage seemed totally destroyed at sea, by the loss of a hundred and twenty ships. This loss brought the Carthaginians to sue for a peace, which Rome thought proper to grant; but, still inflexible in its demands, exacted the same conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. These were, that they should pay down a thousand talents of silver, to defray the charge of the war; and should pay two thousand two hundred more, within ten years; that they should quit Sicily, with all such islands as they pos-

sessed near it; that they should never make war against the allies of Rome, or come with any vessels of war within the Roman dominions; and, lastly, that all their prisoners and deserters shall be delivered up without ransom. To these hard conditions, — U. C. 513. — the Carthaginians, now exhausted, readily subscribed; and thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted twenty-four years, and, in some measure, had drained both nations of resources to begin another.

.....

## CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE END OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, TO THE  
END OF THE SECOND.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and Romans, a profound peace ensued, and, in about six years after, the temple of Janus was shut for the second time since the foundation of the city. The Romans, being thus in friendship with all nations, had an opportunity of turning to the arts of peace: they now began to have a relish for poetry, the first liberal art which rises in every civilized nation, and the first also that decays. Hitherto they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of their lowest buffoons: they had sports, called *Fescennini*, in which a few debauched actors invented their own parts, while raillery and indecency supplied the place of humour. To these a composition

of a higher kind succeeded, called satire; a sort of dramatic poem, in which the characters of the great were particularly pointed out, and made an object of derision to the vulgar. After these, came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greeks: indeed, the first dramatic poet of Rome, — U. C. 514. — whose name was Livius Andronicus, was, by birth, a Grecian. The instant these finer kinds of composition appeared, this great people rejected their former impurities with disdain. Thenceforward they laboured upon the Grecian model; and, though they were never able to rival their masters in dramatic composition, they soon surpassed them in many of the more soothing kinds of poetry. Elegiac, pastoral, and didactic compositions began to assume new beauties in the Roman language; and satire, not that rude kind of dialogue already mentioned, but a nobler sort, was all their own.

While they were thus admitting the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of making fresh preparations for war: all intervals of ease seemed to give fresh vigour for new designs, rather than relax their former intrepidity. The Illyrians were the first people upon whom they tried their strength. That nation happened to make depredations upon some of the trading subjects of Rome: — U. C. 527. — this being complained of to Teuta, the queen of the country, she, instead of granting redress, ordered the ambassador, who was sent to demand restitution, to be murdered. A war ensued, in which the Romans were victorious; most of the Illyric towns

were surrendered to the consuls, and a peace at last concluded, by which the greatest part of the country was ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was exacted for the rest, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians should not sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, and those unarmed.

*The Gauls* were the next people that incurred the displeasure of the Romans. A time of peace, when the armies were disbanded, was the proper season for new irruptions; and these barbarians invited fresh forces from beyond the Alps, and, entering Etruria, wasted all with fire and sword, till they came within about three days' journey of Rome. A prætor and a consul were sent to oppose them, who now, instructed in the improved arts of war, were enabled to surround the Gauls. It was in vain that those hardy troops, who had nothing but courage to protect them, formed two fronts to oppose their adversaries; their naked bodies and undisciplined forces were unable to withstand the shock of an enemy completely armed, and skilled in military evolutions. A miserable slaughter ensued, in which forty thousand were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. This victory was followed by another gained by Marcellus, in which he killed Viridomarus, their king, with his own hand. These conquests forced them to beg for peace, the conditions of which served greatly to enlarge the empire. Thus the Romans went on with success; retrieved their former losses, and only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to begin a new war.

The Carthaginians had made peace solely because they were no longer able to continue the war. They, therefore, took the earliest opportunity of breaking the treaty: they besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, which had been in alliance with Rome; and, though desired to desist, prosecuted their operations with vigour. Ambassadors were sent, in consequence, from Rome to Carthage, complaining of the infraction of their articles, and requiring that Hannibal the Carthaginian general, who had advised this measure, should be delivered up; which being refused, both sides prepared for a second Punic war.

The Carthaginians trusted the management of it to Hannibal. This extraordinary man had been made the sworn foe of Rome, almost from his infancy; for, while yet very young, his father brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, that he would never be in friendship with the Romans, nor desist from opposing their power, until he or they should be no more. On his first appearance in the field, he united, in his own person, the most masterly method of commanding, with the most perfect obedience to his superiors. Thus he was equally beloved by his generals and the troops he was appointed to lead. He was possessed of the greatest courage in opposing danger, and the greatest presence of mind in retiring from it. No fatigue was able to subdue his body, or any misfortune to break his spirit; he was equally patient of heat and cold, and he took sustenance merely to content nature, not to delight his appetite. He was the best

horseman and the swiftest runner of the time. This great general, who is considered as the most skilful commander of antiquity, having overrun all Spain, and levied a large army of various languages and nations, resolved to carry the war into Italy itself, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpose, leaving Hanno with a sufficient force to guard his conquests in Spain, he crossed the Pyrenean mountains into Gaul, with an army of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. He quickly traversed that country, which was then wild and extensive, and filled with nations that were his declared enemies. In vain its forests and rivers appeared to intimidate; in vain the Rhone, with its rapid current, and its banks covered with enemies, or the Dura branched out into numberless channels, opposed his way: he passed them all with undaunted spirit, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which he was to explore a new passage into Italy. It was in the midst of winter, when this astonishing project was undertaken. The season added new horrors to the scene. The prodigious height and tremendous steepness of these mountains capped with snow; the people barbarous and fierce, dressed in skins, with long and shaggy hair, presented a picture that impressed the beholders with astonishment and terror. But nothing was capable of subduing the courage of the Carthaginian general. At the end of fifteen days, spent in crossing the Alps, he found himself in the plains of Italy, with about half his army; the other half had died of the cold, or been cut off by the natives.



As soon as it was known at Rome, that Hannibal, at the head of an immense army, was crossing the Alps, the senate sent Scipio to oppose him; but he was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. In the mean time, Hannibal, thus victorious, took the most prudent precautions to increase his army; giving orders always to spare the possessions of the Gauls, while depredations were permitted upon those of Rome; and this so pleased that simple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his standard with alacrity.

The second battle was fought upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Carthaginian general, being apprised of the Roman impetuosity, of which he availed himself in almost every engagement, had sent off a thousand horse, each with a foot soldier behind, to cross the river, to ravage the enemy's country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly routed this force. Seeming to be defeated, they took to the river, and were as eagerly pursued by Sempronius, the consul. No sooner was his army got upon the opposite bank, than he perceived himself half conquered, his men being fatigued with wading up to their arm-pits, and quite benumbed by the intense coldness of the water. A total rout ensued; twenty-six thousand of the Romans were either killed by the enemy, or drowned in attempting to repass the river. A body of ten thousand men were all that survived; who, finding themselves inclosed on every side, broke desperately through the enemies' ranks, and fought, retreating, till they found shelter in the city of Placentia.

The third defeat the Romans sustained was at the lake of Thrasymene; near to which was a chain of mountains, and, between these and the lake, a narrow passage leading to a valley that was embosomed in hills. It was upon these hills that Hannibal disposed his best troops, and it was into this valley that Flaminius, the Roman general, led his men to attack him. A disposition every way so favourable for the Carthaginians was also assisted by accident, for a mist rising from the lake, kept the Romans from seeing their enemies; while the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, saw the whole disposition of their opponents. The fortune of the day was such as might be expected from the conduct of the two generals. The Roman army was slaughtered, almost before they could perceive the enemy that destroyed them. About fifteen thousand Romans, with Flaminius himself, fell in the valley, and six thousand more were obliged to yield themselves prisoners of war.

Upon the news of this defeat, after the general consternation was allayed, the senate resolved to elect a commander with absolute authority, in whom they might repose their last and greatest expectations. The choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, with a happy mixture of caution. He was apprised, that the only way to humble the Carthaginians at such a distance from home was rather by harassing than fighting. For this purpose, he always encamped upon the highest grounds inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they mo-

ved, he watched their motions, straightened their quarters, and cut of their provisions.

By these arts Fabius had actually, at one time, inclosed Hannibal among mountains, where it was impossible to winter; and from which it was almost impracticable to extricate his army without imminent danger. In this exigence, nothing but one of those stratagems of war, which fall to the lot of only great abilities to invent, could save him; he ordered a number of small faggots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen, which should be driven towards the enemy. These tossing their heads, and running up the sides of the mountains, seemed to fill the whole neighbouring forest with fire; while the sentinels, that were placed to guard the approaches of the mountain, seeing such a number of flames advancing toward their posts, fled in consternation, supposing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this stratagem Hannibal drew off his army, and escaped through the defiles that led beneath the hills though with considerable damage to his rear.

Fabius was obliged to resign his office, the time being expired, and Terentius Varro was chosen to the command. Varro was a man sprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but confidence and riches to recommend him. With him was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a disposition entirely opposite; experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impressed with a thorough contempt for the abilities of his plebeian colleague.

The Romans, finding themselves enabled to bring a competent force into the field, being almost ninety thousand strong, now again resolved to meet Hannibal, who was at this time encamped near the village of Cannæ; with a wind in its rear that, for a certain season, blows one way; which, raising great clouds of dust from the parched plains behind, must greatly distress an approaching enemy. In this situation he waited the coming up of the Romans, with an army of forty thousand foot, and half that number of cavalry. The consuls soon appeared to his wish, dividing their forces into two parts, and agreeing to take the command each day by turns. On the first day of their arrival, Æmilius was entirely averse to engaging. The next day, however, it being Varro's turn to command, he, without asking his colleague's concurrence, gave the signal for battle; and passing the river Aufidus, that lay between both armies, put his forces in array. The battle began with the light-armed infantry; the horse engaged soon after; but the cavalry being unable to stand against those of Numidia, the legions came up to reinforce them. It was then that the conflict became general: the Roman soldiers endeavoured, in vain, to penetrate the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Hannibal observing, ordered part of those troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to embosom themselves within a chosen body of his Africans, whom he had placed on their wings, so as to surround them: upon that a terrible slaughter of the Romans ensued, fatigued with re-

peated attacks of the Africans, who were fresh and vigorous. At last, the rout became general in every part of the Roman army; the boastings of Varrro were now no longer heard; while Æmilius, who had been wounded by a slinger, feebly led on his body of horse, and did all that could be done to make head against the enemy. Unable to sit on horseback, he was forced to dismount. It was in these deplorable circumstances, that one Lentulus, a tribune of the army, fleeing on horseback from the enemy, who at some distance pursued him, met Æmilius, sitting upon a stone, covered with blood and wounds, and waiting for the coming up of the pursuers. « Æmilius, » cried the generous tribune, « you, at least, are guiltless of this day's slaughter: » « take my horse, and flee. » « I thank thee, Lentulus, » cried the dying consul, « all is over; my part is » chosen. Go, and tell the senate to fortify Rome » against the approach of the conqueror. Tell Fabius, » that Æmilius, while living, ever remembered his » advice; and, now dying, approves it. » While he was yet speaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, at some distance, saw the consul expire, feebly fighting in the midst of hundreds. In this battle the Romans lost fifty thousand men, and so many knights, that it is said Hannibal sent three bushels of the gold rings worn by those of this order to Carthage.

When the first consternation was abated, after this dreadful blow, the senate came to a general resolution to create a *dictator*, in order to give

strength to their government. A short time after, Varro arrived, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army. As he had been the principal cause of the late calamity, it was natural to suppose, that the senate would severely reprimand the rashness of his conduct. But far otherwise! The Romans went out in multitudes to meet him; and the senate returned him thanks, that he had not despaired of the safety of Rome. Fabius, who was considered as the shield, and Marcellus, as the sword of Rome, were appointed to lead the armies; and, though Hannibal once more offered them peace, they refused it, but upon condition that he should quit Italy—Terms similar to those they had formerly insisted upon from Pyrrhus.

Hannibal, finding the impossibility of marching directly to Rome, or willing to give his forces rest, after so mighty a victory, led them to Capua, where he resolved to winter. This city had long been considered as the nurse of luxury, and the corrupter of all military virtue: here a new scene of pleasure opened to his barbarian troops. They at once gave themselves up to the intoxication; and, from being hardy veterans, became infirm rioters.

Hitherto we have found this great man successful; but now we are to reverse the picture, and survey him struggling with accumulated misfortunes, and, at last, sinking beneath them.

His first loss was at the siege of Nola, where Marcellus, the prætor, made a successful sally. He some time after attempted to raise the siege of Ca-

\*\*

pua, attacked the Romans in their trenches, and was repulsed with considerable loss. He then made a feint to besiege Rome, but, finding a superior army ready to receive him, was obliged to retire. For years after, he fought with various success; Marcellus, his opponent, sometimes gaining, and sometimes losing the advantage, without coming to any decisive engagement.

The senate of Carthage, at length, came to a resolution of sending his brother Asdrubal to his assistance, with a body of forces drawn out of Spain. Asdrubal's march being made known to the consuls Livius and Nero, they went against him with great expedition; and, surrounding him in a place into which he was led by the treachery of his guides, they cut his whole army to pieces. Hannibal had long expected these succours with impatience; and the very night on which he had been assured of his brother's arrival, Nero ordered Asdrubal's head to be cut off, and thrown into his brother's camp. The Carthaginian general now began to perceive the downfall of Carthage; and, with a sigh, observed to those about him, that Fortune seemed fatigued with granting her favours.

In the mean time, the Roman arms seemed to be favoured in other parts. Marcellus took the city of Syracuse in Sicily; defended by the machines and the fires of Archimedes the mathematician. The inhabitants were put to the sword; and, among the rest, Archimedes himself, who was found by a Roman soldier meditating in his study. Marcellus, the

general, was not a little grieved at his death. A passion for letters, at that time, began to prevail among the higher ranks at Rome. Marcellus ordered Archimedes to be honorably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory.

As to their fortunes in Spain, though for a while doubtful, they soon recovered their complexion under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who sued for the office of proconsul for that kingdom, at a time when every one else was willing to decline it. Scipio was now more than twenty-four years old; had all the qualifications requisite forming a great general, and a good man; he united courage with tenderness, was superior to Hannibal in the arts of peace, and almost his equal in those of war. His father had been killed in Spain, so that he seemed to have an hereditary claim to attack that country. He there appeared irresistible, obtaining many great victories, yet subduing more by his generosity, mildness, and benevolent disposition, than by the force of arms.

He returned, with an army, from the conquest of Spain, and was made consul at the age of twenty-nine. It was at first supposed, he intended meeting Hannibal in Italy, and that he would attempt driving him thence; but he had formed a wiser plan, which was to carry the war into Africa; and, while the Carthaginians kept an army near Rome, to make them tremble for their own capital.

Scipio was not long in Africa without employment; Hanno opposed him, but was defeated and



slain. Syphax, the usurper of Numidia, led up a large army against him. The Roman general, for a time, declined fighting, till, finding an opportunity, he set fire to the enemy's tents, and attacking them in the midst of the confusion, killed forty thousand, and took six thousand prisoners.

The Carthaginians, terrified at their repeated defeats, and at the fame of Scipio's successes, determined to recall Hannibal, their great champion, out of Italy, in order to oppose the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly dispatched, with a positive command for him to return and oppose the Roman general, who at that time threatened Carthage with a siege. Nothing could exceed the regret and disappointment of Hannibal: he obeyed the orders of his infatuated country, with the submission of the meanest soldier; and took leave of Italy with tears, after having kept possession of its most beautiful parts above fifteen years.

Upon his arrival at Leptis, in Africa, he set out for Adrumetum, and at last approached Zama, a city within five days' journey of Carthage. Scipio, in the mean time, led his army to meet him, joined by Massinissa, with six thousand horse; and, to show his rival how little he feared his approach, sent back the spies which were sent to explore his camp, having previously shown them the whole, with directions to inform Hannibal of what they had seen. The Carthaginian general, conscious of his inferiority, endeavoured to discontinue the war by negotiation; and desired a meeting with Scipio, to

confer upon terms of peace; to which the Roman general assented. But, after a long conference, both sides parting dissatisfied, they returned to their camps, to prepare for deciding the controversy by the sword. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the empire that was in dispute. The disposition Hannibal made of his men is said to be superior to any, even of his former arrangements. The battle began with the elephants, on the side of the Carthaginians; which, being terrified at the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the slingers and archers, turned upon their drivers, and caused much confusion in both wings of their army where the cavalry were placed. Being thus deprived of the assistance of the horse, in which their greatest strength consisted, the heavy infantry joined on both sides: but the Romans being stronger of body, the Carthaginians gave ground. In the mean time, Massinissa, who had been in pursuit of their cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, completed their defeat. A total rout ensued, twenty thousand men were killed, and as many were taken prisoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great and undaunted general could perform, fled with a small body of horse to Adrumetum; Fortune seeming to delight in confounding his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory brought on a peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, submitted to the conditions which the Romans dictated, not as rivals,

but as sovereigns. By this treaty the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the islands in the Mediterranean. They were bound to pay ten thousand talents in fifty years; to give hostages for the delivery of their ships and their elephants; to restore to Massinissa all the territories that had been taken from him; and not to make war in Africa, but by the permission of the Romans. Thus ended the second Punic war, seventeen years after it had begun.



## CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, TO THE  
END OF THE THIRD, WHICH TERMINATED IN THE  
DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE.

WHILE The Romans were engaged with Hannibal, they carried on also a vigorous war against Philip king of Macedon, not a little incited thereto by the prayers of the Athenians; who, from once controlling the power of Persia, were now unable to defend themselves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, also entered into the confederacy against Philip. He was more than once defeated by Galba, the consul. He attempted to besiege Athens, but the Romans obliged him to raise the siege. He attempted to take possession of the straits of Thermopylæ, but was driven thence by Quintus Flaminius, with great slaughter. He attempted to take refuge in Thessaly, where he was again defeated with consi-

derable loss, and obliged to beg a peace, upon condition of paying a thousand talents. Peace with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of showing their generosity, by restoring liberty to Greece.

Antiochus, king of Syria, was next brought to submit to the Roman arms; after embassies on the one side and the other, a war was declared against him, five years after the conclusion of the Macedonian war. After many mistakes and misconduct, he attempted to obtain a peace, by offering to quit all his places in Europe; and such in Asia as professed alliance to Rome. But it was now too late. Scipio, perceiving his own superiority, was resolved to avail himself of it. Antiochus, thus driven into resistance, for some time retreated before the enemy, till, being pressed hard, near the city of Magnesia, he was forced to draw out his men, to the number of seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Scipio opposed him with forces as much inferior in number, as they were superior in courage and discipline. Antiochus therefore was in a short time entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with scythes, being driven back upon his men, contributed much to his overthrow. Being thus reduced to the last extremity, he was glad to procure peace from the Romans; upon their own terms; which were, to pay fifteen thousand talents; to quit his possessions in Europe, and in Asia on the hither side of Mount Taurus; to give twenty hostages, as pledges of his fidelity; and to deliver up Hannibal, the inveterate enemy of Rome, who had taken refuge at his court.

In the mean time, Hannibal, whose destruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to avoid the threatened ruin. This consummate general had been long a wanderer, and an exile from his ungrateful country. He had taken refuge at the court of Antiochus, who, at first, gave him a sincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet, in which station he shewed his usual skill in stratagem. But he soon sunk in the Syrian's esteem, for projecting schemes, which that monarch had neither genius to understand, nor talents to execute. Sure, therefore, to find no safety or protection, he departed by stealth; and, after wandering for a time among petty states, who had neither power nor generosity to protect him, he took refuge at the court of Prusias, king of Bythinia. In the mean time, the Romans, with a vindictive spirit, utterly unworthy of them, sent Æmilius, one of their most celebrated generals, to demand him of this king; who, fearing the resentment of Rome, and willing to conciliate their friendship by this breach of hospitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Hannibal, with an intent to deliver him up. The poor old general, thus implacably persecuted from one country to another, and finding every method of safety cut off, determined to die. He therefore desired one of his followers to bring him poison; and, drinking it, he expired as he had lived, with intrepid bravery.

U. C. 583. — A second Macedonian war was soon after proclaimed against Perseus, the son of Philip, who had been obliged to beg peace of the Romans.

Perseus, in order to secure the crown, had contrived to murder his brother Demetrius; and, upon the death of his father, pleased with the hopes of imaginary triumphs, made war against Rome. During the course of this war, which continued about three years, opportunities were offered him of cutting off the Roman army; but, being ignorant how to take advantage of their rashness, he spent the time in empty overtures for peace. At length, Æmilius gave him a decisive overthrow. He attempted to procure safety by fleeing into Crete; but, being abandoned by all, he was obliged to surrender himself, and to grace the splendid triumph of the Roman general.

About this time, Massinissa, the Numidian, having made some incursions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invasion. This brought on a war between that monarch and them: while the Romans, who pretended to consider this conduct of theirs as an infraction of the treaty, sent to make a complaint. The ambassadors, who were employed upon this occasion, finding the city very rich and flourishing, from the long interval of peace, which it had now enjoyed near fifty years, either from motives of avarice to possess its plunder, or for fear of its growing greatness, insisted much on the necessity of a war, which was soon after proclaimed, and the consuls set out with a thorough resolution utterly to demolish Carthage.

The wretched Carthaginians, finding that the

conquerors would not desist from making demands, while the vanquished had any thing to give, attempted to soften the victors by submission; but they received orders to leave the city, which was to be levelled with the ground. This severe command they received with all the distress of a despairing people: they implored for a respite from such a hard sentence; they used tears and lamentations; but, finding the consuls inexorable, they departed with the gloomy resolution, prepared to suffer the utmost extremities, and fight to the last for their seat of empire.

Those vessels, therefore, of gold and silver, in which their luxury had taken such pride, were converted into arms. The women parted also with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair to be converted into strings for the bowmen. Asdrubal, who had been lately condemned for opposing the Romans, was now taken from prison to head their army; and such preparations were made, that when the consuls came before the city, which they expected to find an easy conquest, they met with such resistance, as quite dispirited their forces, and shook their resolution. Several engagements were fought before the walls, with disadvantage to the assailants; so that the siege would have been discontinued, had not Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted son of Africanus, who was now appointed to command it, used as much skill to save his forces after a defeat, as to inspire them with fresh hopes of a victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he

not found means to seduce Pharneas, the master of the Carthaginian horse, who came over to his side. The unhappy townsmen soon saw the enemy make nearer approaches: the wall which led to the haven was quickly demolished; soon after, the forum itself was taken; which offered the conquerors a deplorable spectacle of houses nodding to the fall, heaps of men lying dead, hundreds of the wounded struggling to emerge from the carnage around them, and deploring their own and their country's ruin. The citadel soon after surrendered at discretion. All now but the temple was subdued, and that was defended by deserters from the Roman army, and those who had been most forward to undertake the war. These, however, expecting no mercy, and finding their condition desperate, set fire to the building, and voluntarily perished in the flames. This was the end of one of the most renowned cities in the world, for arts, opulence, and extent of dominion: it had rivalled Rome for above a hundred years, and, at one time, was thought to have the superiority.

This conquest of Carthage was soon followed by many others. Corinth, one of the noblest cities of Greece, in the same year, sustained the like fate, being levelled to the ground. Scipio also having laid siege to Numantia, the strongest city in Spain, the wretched inhabitants, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, fired the city over their own heads; and all, to a man, expired in the flames. Thus Spain became a province to Rome, and was governed thenceforward by two annual prætors.





## CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE, TO THE END  
OF THE SEDITION OF THE GRACCHI.— U. C. 621.

THE Romans being now left without a rival, the triumphs and the spoils of Asia introduced a taste of splendid expense; and this produced avarice and inverted ambition. The two Gracchi were the first who saw this strange corruption among the great, and resolved to repress it, by renewing the Licinian law, which had enacted, that no person in the state should possess above five hundred acres of land. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, was a person very considerable both for the advantages of his person, and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was the grandson, he seemed more ambitious of power than desirous of glory; his compassion for the oppressed was equal to his animosity against the oppressors; but unhappily his passions, rather than his reason, operated even in his pursuits of virtue; and these always drove him beyond the line of duty. This was the disposition of the elder Gracchus, who found the lower order of people ready to second all his proposals. The above law, though at first carried on with proper moderation, greatly disgusted the rich, who endeavoured to persuade the people, that the proposer only aimed at disturbing the government, and

hrowing all things into confusion. But Gracchus, who was a man of the greatest eloquence of his time, easily wiped of these impressions from the minds of the people, already irritated with their wrongs; and, at length, the law was passed.

The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, furnished Gracchus with a new opportunity of gratifying the meaner part of the people at the expense of the great. This king had, by his last will, made the Romans his heirs; and it was now proposed, that the money so left should be divided among the poor, in order to furnish them with proper utensils for cultivating the lands, which became theirs by the late law of partition. This caused still greater disturbances than before: the senate assembled upon this occasion, in order to concert the most proper method of securing these riches to themselves, which they now valued above the safety of the commonwealth: they had numerous dependents, who were willing to give up liberty for plenty and ease; these, therefore, were commanded to be in readiness, to intimidate the people, who expected no such opposition: and who were now attending to the harangues of Gracchus in the Capitol. Here, as a clamour was raised by the clients of the great on one side, and by the favourers of the law on the other, Gracchus found his speech entirely interrupted, and begged in vain to be attended to; till, at last, raising his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partizans of the senate gave out, that he wanted a diadem. In consequence

of this, a universal uproar spread itself through all ranks of people; the corrupt part of the senate were of opinion, that the consul should defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but this prudent magistrate declining such violence, Scipio Nasica, kinsman to Gracchus, immediately rose up, and, preparing himself for the contest, desired that all, who would defend the dignity and authority of the laws, should follow him. Upon this, attended by a large body of senators and clients armed with clubs, he went directly to the Capitol, striking down all who ventured to resist. Tiberius Gracchus, perceiving, by the tumult, that his life was sought for, endeavoured to flee; and, throwing away his robe, to expedite his escape, attempted to get through the throng; but happening to fall over a person already on the ground, Saturnius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, who was of the opposite faction, struck him dead with a piece of a seat; and not less than three hundred of his hearers shared the same fate, being killed in the tumult. Nor did the vengeance of the senate rest here, but extended to numbers of those who seemed to espouse his cause; many of them were put to death, many were banished, and nothing was omitted to inspire the people with an abhorrence of his pretended crimes.

Caius Gracchus was but twenty-one upon the death of Tiberius his brother; and as he was too young to be much dreaded by the great, so he was at first unwilling to incur their resentment, by aims beyond his reach; he therefore lived in retirement,

unseen and forgotten. But, while he thus seemed desirous of avoiding popularity, he was employing his solitude in the study of eloquence, which was the surest means to obtain it : at length, when he thought himself qualified to serve his country, he offered himself candidate for the quæstorship to the army in Sardinia, which he easily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in this office, were remarked by all. The king of Numidia, sending a present of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambassadors to say, that it was a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This the senate treated with scorn, and ordered the ambassadors to be dismissed with contempt, as ignorant barbarians; which so inflamed the resentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately came from the army, to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation; and to offer himself for the tribuneship of the people. It was then that this youth, who had been hitherto neglected, proved a more formidable enemy, than even his brother had been. Notwithstanding the warmest opposition from the senate, he was declared tribune, by a very large majority; and he now prepared for the career, which his brother had run before him.

His first effort was to have Popilius, one of the most inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people; but, rather than stand the event of a trial, he chose to go into voluntary banishment. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium; and, soon

after, to all the people on the hither side of the Alps. He afterward fixed the price of corn to a moderate standard, and procured a monthly distribution of it among the people. He then proceeded to an inspection into the late corruptions of the senate; in which the whole body being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the sale of offices, for at that time a total degeneracy seemed to have taken place, a law was made, transferring the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the knights, which made a great alteration in the constitution.

Gracchus, by these means, being grown not only popular, but powerful, was become an object, at which the senate aimed all their resentment. But he soon found the populace a faithless and unsteady support. They began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and to place it upon Drusus, a man insidiously set up against him by the senate. It was in vain that he revived the Licinian law in their favour, and called up several of the inhabitants of the different towns of Italy to his support; the senate ordered all to depart from Rome, and even sent one stranger to prison, whom Gracchus had invited to live with him, and honoured with his table and friendship. To this indignity was shortly after added a disgrace of a more fatal tendency; for, standing for the tribuneship a third time, he was rejected. It was supposed that the officers, whose duty it was to make the return, were bribed to reject him, though fairly chosen.

It was now seen that the fate of Gracchus was re-

solved on. Opimius, the consul, was not contented with the protection of the senate and the knights, with a numerous retinue of slaves and clients; he ordered a body of Caudians, that were mercenaries in the Roman service, to follow and attend him. Thus guarded, and conscious of the superiority of his forces, he insulted Gracchus wherever he met him, doing all in his power to produce a quarrel, in which he might have a pretence of dispatching his enemy in the fray. Gracchus avoided all recrimination, and, as if apprised of the consul's designs, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not so remiss, but resolved to oppose party against party; and, for this purpose, brought up several countrymen to Rome, who came under pretence of desiring employment. When the day for determining the controversy was arrived, the two parties, early in the morning, attended at the Capitol, where, while the consul was sacrificing, according to custom, one of the lictors, taking up the entrails of the beast that was slain, in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out to Fulvius and his party, « Make way, ye factious citizens, for a honest men. » This insult so provoked the party to whom it was addressed, that they instantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death with the instruments they used in writing, which they then happened to have in their hands. This murder caused a great disturbance in the assembly. Gracchus, who saw the consequences that were likely to ensue, re-

primanded his party for giving his enemies such advantage over him; and now prepared to lead his followers to Mount Aventine. It was there he learned, that proclamation had been made by the consuls, that whoever should bring either his head, or that of Flaccus, should receive its weight in gold as a reward. It was to no purpose, that he sent the youngest son of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with proposals for an accommodation. The senate and the consuls, who were sensible of their superiority, rejected all his offers, and resolved to punish his offence with nothing less than death; and they offered pardon also to all who should leave him immediately. This produced the desired effect; the people fell from him by degrees, and left him with very inferior forces. In the mean time, Opimius, the consul, who thirsted for slaughter, leading his forces up to Mount Aventine, fell in among the crowd with ungovernable fury. A terrible slaughter of the scarce resisting multitude ensued, and not less than three thousand citizens were slain upon the spot. Flaccus attempted to find shelter in a ruinous cottage; but, being discovered, was slain, with his eldest son. Gracchus, at first, retired to the temple of Diana, where he resolved to die by his own hand, but was prevented by two of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Lucinius, who forced him to seek safety by flight. Thence he made the best of his way to cross a bridge, that led from the city, still attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian slave, whose name was Philocrates. But his pursuers

still pressed upon him from behind, and when come to the foot of the bridge, he was obliged to turn and face the enemy. His two friends were soon slain, defending him against the crowd; and he was forced to take refuge with his slave, in a grove beyond the Tiber, which had long been dedicated to the Furies. Here, finding himself surrounded on every side, and no way left of escaping, he prevailed upon his slave to dispatch him. The slave immediately after killed himself, and fell down upon the body of his beloved master. The pursuers coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it for a while, as a trophy, on a spear. Soon after, one Septimuleius carried it home, and, taking out the brain, artfully filled it with lead, in order to increase its weight, and then received of the consul seventeen pounds of gold as his recompense.

Thus died Caius Gracchus. He is usually impeached by historians, as guilty of sedition; but, from what we see of his character, the disturbance of public tranquillity was rather owing to his opposers than to him; so that instead of calling the tumults of that time the sedition of the Gracchi, we should rather call them, the sedition of the senate against the Gracchi; since the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law, to which the senate had assented; and the designs of the former were supported by an extraneous armed power from the country, that had never before meddled in the business of legislation, and whose introduction gave a most irrecoverable blow to the constitution. Whe-



ther the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition or of patriotism, in the promulgation of the law, it is impossible to determine; but, from what appears, justice was on their side, and all injury on that of the senate. In fact, this body was now changed from that venerable assembly, which we have seen overthrowing Pyrrhus and Hannibal, as much by their virtues as their arms. They were now only to be distinguished from the rest of the people by their superior luxuries; and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of an authority gained from riches, and mercenary dependencies. The venal and the base were attached to them from motives of self-interest; and they who still ventured to be independent, were borne down, and entirely lost in an infamous majority. In short, the empire, at this period, came under the government of a hateful aristocracy; the tribunes, who were formerly accounted protectors of the people, becoming rich themselves, and having no longer opposite interests from those of the senate, concurred in their oppressions; for the struggle was not now between patricians and plebeians, who only nominally differed, but between the rich and the poor. The lower orders of the state, being by these means reduced to a degree of hopeless subjection, instead of looking after liberty, only fought for a leader; while the rich, with all the suspicions of tyrants, terrified at the slightest appearance of opposition, intrusted men with uncontrollable power, from whom they had not strength to withdraw it, when the danger was over. Thus

both parts of the state concurred in giving up their freedom; the fears of the senate first made the dictator, and the hatred of the people kept him in his office. Nothing can be more dreadful to a thinking mind than the government of Rome from this period, till it found refuge under the protection of Augustus.

.....

## CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE SEDITION OF GRACCHUS TO THE PERPETUAL  
DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA, WHICH WAS THE FIRST  
STEP TOWARDS THE RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.  
— U. C. 634.

WHILE the Romans were in this state of deplorable corruption at home, they nevertheless were very successful in their transactions with regard to foreign powers.

Among other victories, Jugurtha, king of Numidia, had been totally overthrown. He was grandson to Massinissa, who sided against Hannibal with Rome; educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom, superior in abilities to both, and greatly in favour with the people, he murdered Hiempsal, the elder son, and made the same attempt on Adherbal, the younger, who escaped, and fled to the Romans for succour. Jugurtha, sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into the senate, sent his ambassadors to Rome with large presents, which so successfully prevailed, that

the senate decreed him half the kingdom, thus acquired by murder and usurpation; and sent ten commissioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. The commissioners, of whom Opimius, the enemy of Gracchus, was one, willing to follow the example which the senate had set them, were also bribed to bestow the most rich and populous parts of that kingdom upon the usurper. But Jugurtha resolved to possess himself of the whole; and, willing to give a colour to his ambition, he only made in the beginning incursions in order to provoke reprisals, which he knew how to convert into seeming aggression. This failing, he resolved to throw off the mask; and besieging Adherbal in Cirta, his capital, he at length got him into his power, and murdered him. The Roman people, who had still some generosity remaining, unanimously complained of his treachery, and procured a decree, that Jugurtha should be summoned in person before them, to give an account of all such as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himself upon the clemency of Rome, but, not giving the people satisfaction, he had orders to depart the city; and, in the mean time, Albanus, the consul, was sent with an army to follow him; who, giving up the direction of it to Aulus, his brother, a person who was every way unqualified for the command, the Romans were compelled to hazard a battle upon disadvantageous terms; and the whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, was obliged to pass under the yoke.

In this condition, Metellus, the succeeding con-

sul, found affairs upon his arrival in Numidia; officers without confidence, an army without discipline, and an enemy ever watchful and intriguing. However, by his great attention to business, and by an integrity that shuddered at corruption, he soon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the army. In the space of two years, Jugurtha was overthrown in several battles, forced out of his own dominions, and constrained to beg a peace. Thus, all things promised Metellus an easy and certain victory, but he was frustrated in his expectations, by the intrigues of Caius Marius, his lieutenant, who came in to reap that harvest of glory, which the other's industry had sown. Caius Marius was born in a village near Arpinum, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour. As he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was frightful. He was a man of extraordinary stature, incomparable strength, and undaunted bravery. When Metellus was obliged to solicit at Rome for a continuance of his command, Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, was resolved to obtain it for himself, and thus gain all the glory of putting an end to the war. To that end he privately inveighed against Metellus by his emissaries at Rome; and, having excited a spirit of discontent against him, he had leave granted him to go there to stand for the consulship, which he obtained, contrary to the expectation and interest of the nobles.

Marius, being thus invested with the supreme

power of managing the war, showed himself every way fit for the commission. His vigilance was equal to his valour, and he quickly made himself master of the cities, which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This unfortunate prince, finding himself unable to make opposition singly, was obliged to have recourse for assistance to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, to whose daughter he was married. A battle soon after ensued, in which the Numidians surprised the Roman camp by night, and gained a temporary advantage. However, it was but of short continuance; for Marius soon after overthrew them in two signal engagements, in one of which, not less than ninety thousand of the African army were slain. Bocchus, now finding the Romans too powerful to be resisted, did not think it expedient to hazard his own crown, to protect that of his ally; he therefore determined to make peace, upon whatever conditions he might obtain it; and accordingly sent to Rome, imploring protection. The senate received the ambassadors with their usual haughtiness, and, without complying with their request, granted the suppliant, not their friendship, but their pardon. Notwithstanding, after some time, he was given to understand, that the delivering up of Jugurtha to the Romans would, in some measure, conciliate their favour, and soften their resentment. At first the pride of Bocchus struggled against such a proposal; but a few interviews with Sylla reconciled him to this treacherous measure. At length, Jugurtha was given up, being drawn into an ambuscade, by the

specious pretences of his ally, who deluded him by desiring a conference; and being made a prisoner, he was carried by Marius to Rome, loaded with chains, a deplorable instance of blasted ambition. He did not long survive his overthrow, being condemned by the senate to be starved to death in prison, a short time after he had been made to adorn the triumph of the conqueror.

Marius, by this and two succeeding victories over the Gauls, having become very formidable to distant nations in war, became soon after much more dangerous to his fellow-citizens in peace. The strength which he had given the popular party every day grew more conspicuous; and the Italians being frustrated in their aims of gaining the freedom of Rome, by the intrigues of the senate they resolved upon obtaining by force, what was refused them as a favour. This gave rise to the social war, in which most of the states of Italy entered into a confederacy against Rome, in order to obtain a redress of their grievances.

After a lapse of two years, this war having continued to rage with doubtful success, the senate began to reflect, that, whether conquered or conquerors, the power of the Romans was in danger of being destroyed. To soften their compliance by degrees, they began by giving the freedom of the city to such of the Italian states as had not revolted. They then offered it to such as would lay down their arms. This unexpected bounty had its effect; the allies, with mutual distrust, offered each a separate

\*\*

treaty : the senate took them one by one into favour, but gave the freedom of the city in such a manner, that, not being empowered to vote, until all the other tribes had given their suffrages, they had very little weight in the constitution.

This destructive war being concluded, the senate began to think of turning their arms against Mithridates, the most powerful and warlike monarch of the East. For this expedition Marius had long been preparing, but Sylla had interest enough to get himself appointed to the expedition. Marius, however, tried all his arts with the people to get his appointment reversed ; and the command of the army, appointed to oppose Mithridates, was to be transferred from Sylla to Marius. In consequence of this, Marius immediately sent down officers from Rome, to take command in his name. But, instead of being obeyed, the officers were slain, and Sylla was entreated, that he would lead them directly to take signal vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome.

Accordingly, his soldiers entered the city sword in hand, as a place taken by storm. Marius and Sulpicius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their partizans, attempted to oppose their entrance ; and the citizens themselves, who feared the sackage of the place, threw down stones and tiles from the houses upon the intruders. So unequal a conflict lasted longer than could have been expected : at length, Marius and his party were obliged to seek safety by flight, after having vainly offered liberty to the slaves who would assist them.

Sylla, now finding himself master of the city, began by modelling the laws so as to favour his outrages. While Marius, driven out of Rome, and declared a public enemy, at the age of seventy, was obliged to save himself, unattended, and on foot, from the pursuits of those who sought his life. After having wandered for some time in this deplorable condition, he found every day his dangers increase, and his pursuers making nearer advances. In this distress he concealed himself in the marshes of Minturnum, where he continued a night up to his chin in a quagmire. At break of day, he made toward the seaside, in hopes of finding a ship to facilitate his escape; but being discovered, he was conducted to a neighbouring town with a halter round his neck; and, without clothes, and covered with mud, was sent to prison. The governor of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the senate, soon after sent a Cimbrian slave to dispatch him; but the barbarian no sooner entered the dungeon for this purpose, than he stopped short, intimidated by the dreadful visage and awful voice of the fallen general, who sternly demanded, if he had the presumption to kill Caius Marius. The slave, unable to reply, threw down his sword, and, rushing back from the prison, cried out, that he found it impossible to kill him! The governor, considering the fear of the slave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour, gave him once more his freedom; and, commending him to his fortune, provided him with a ship to convey him from Italy. He was forced by a tempest on the coast



of Sicily. A Roman quæstor, who happened to be there, resolved to seize him; by which he lost sixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his retreat to the ship. He afterward landed in Africa, near Carthage, and, in a melancholy manner, placed himself among the ruins of that desolated place. He soon, however, had orders from the prætor to retire. Marins, who remembered his having once served this very man in necessity, could not suppress his indignation, at finding every where ingratitude; and, preparing to obey, bid the messenger tell his master, that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage; intimating the greatness of his fall by the desolation that was round him. He once more embarked, and not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, spent the winter at sea, expecting every hour the return of a messenger from his son, whom he had sent to solicit protection from the African prince Mandrastal. After long expectation, instead of the messenger, his son himself arrived, having escaped from the inhospitable court of that monarch, where he had been kept, not as a friend, but a prisoner, and had returned just timely enough to prevent his father from sharing the same fate.

In this situation, they were informed that Cinna, one of their party, who had remained at Rome, had put himself at the head of a large army, collected out of the Italian states, who had espoused his cause. Nor was it long before they joined their forces, at the gates of Rome. Sylla was at that time absent in

his command against Mithridates, while Cinna marched into the city; but Marius stopped, and refused to enter, alleging, that, having been banished by a public decree, it was necessary to have another to authorize his return. It was thus that he desired to give his meditated cruelties the appearance of justice; and while he was about to destroy thousands, to pretend an implicit veneration for the laws. An assembly of the people being called, they began to reverse his banishment; but they had scarce gone through three of the tribes, when, incapable of containing his desire of revenge, he entered the city at the head of his guards, and massacred all who had been obnoxious to him, without remorse or pity. Several, who sought to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were murdered by his command in his presence; many even of those who had never offended him were put to death; and, at last, even his own officers never approached him but with terror. Having in this manner punished his enemies, he next abrogated all the laws which were made by his rival, and then made himself consul with Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite passions, vengeance and ambition, having once saved his country, and now deluged it with blood; at last, as if willing to crown the pile of slaughter, which he had made, with his own body, he died the month after, not without suspicion of having hastened his end.

In the mean time, these accounts were brought to Sylla, who had been sent against Mithridates, and who was performing many signal exploits against

him; but, concluding a peace, he returned home to take vengeance of his enemies at Rome.

Nothing could intimidate Cinna from repelling his opponent. Being joined by Carbo, now elected in the room of Valerius, who had been slain, together with young Marius, who inherited all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to send over part of the forces he had raised in Dalmatia to oppose Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but, being dispersed by a storm, the others, that had not yet put to sea, absolutely refused to go. Upon this Cinna, quite furious at their disobedience, rushed forward to persuade them to their duty. In the mean time one of the most mutinous of the soldiers being struck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed severity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna did all he could to appease it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd.

Scipio, the consul, who commanded against Sylla, was soon after allured by proposals for coming to a treaty; but a suspension of arms being agreed upon, Sylla's soldiers went into the opposite camp, displaying those riches which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with *their* fellow-citizens, in case they changed their party. Accordingly the whole army declared unanimously for Sylla; and Scipio scarce knew that he was forsaken and deposed, till he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who, entering his tent, made him and his son prisoners.

In this manner both factions, exasperated to the highest degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of young Marius, who now succeeded his father in command, were the most numerous, but those of Sylla better united and more under subordination. Carbo, who commanded for Marius in the field, sent eight legions to Præneste to relieve his colleague, but they were met by Pompey, afterward surnamed the Great, in a defile, who slew many of them, and dispersed the rest. Carbo soon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loss of ten thousand slain, and six thousand taken prisoners. In consequence Urbanus, one of the consuls, killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa, where, after wandering a long time, he was at last delivered up to Pompey; who, to please Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded. Sylla, now become undisputed master of his country, entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy had he supported in peace the glory, which he had acquired in war; or had he ceased to live, when he ceased to conquer.

Eight thousand men, who had escaped the general carnage, offered themselves to the conqueror: he ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large house in the Campus Martius; and, at the same time, convoked the senate: there he spoke with great fluency, no way discomposed, of his own exploits; and, in the mean time, gave private direction, that all those wretches, whom he had confined, should be slain. The senate, amazed at the horrid

outcries of the sufferers, at first thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed air, informed them, that it was only some criminals, who were to be punished by his order, and that the senate ought not to make themselves uneasy at their fate. The day after, he proscribed forty senators and sixteen hundred knights; and, after an intermission of two days, forty senators more, with an infinite number of the richest citizens.

He next resolved to invest himself with the dictatorship, and that for a perpetuity; and thus, uniting all civil as well as military power in his own person, he thought he might thence give an air of justice to every oppression.

Thus he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to resist his power, until, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, he laid down dictatorship, after having held it not quite three years.

After this, he retired into the country, and abandoned himself to debauchery; but he did not long survive his abdication; he was seized with a horrible distemper, and died a loathsome and mortifying object, capable of only showing the futility of human ambition.

## CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE PERPETUAL DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA TO  
THE TRIUMVIRATE OF CÆSAR, POMPEY, AND CRAS-  
SUS. — U. C. 680.

UPON the death of Sylla, the jealousies of Pompey and Crassus, the two most powerful men in the empire, began to excite fresh dissensions. Pompey was the most beloved general, and Crassus was the richest man in Rome.

The first opportunity, that was afforded of discovering their mutual jealousy, was upon disbanding their troops. Neither chose to begin; so that the most fatal consequences were likely to arise from their dissension; at length Crassus, stifling his resentment, laid down his command; and the other followed his example immediately after. The next trial between them was, who should be foremost in obtaining the favour of the people. Crassus entertained the populace at a thousand different tables; distributed corn to the families of the poor; and fed the greatest part of the citizens for near three months. Pompey, on the other hand, laboured to abrogate the laws made against the authority of the people by Sylla: he restored to the knights the power of judging, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus; and gave back to the tribunes all their former privileges. It was thus, that each gave

his private aims a public appearance; so that what was in reality ambition in both, took with one the name of liberality, with the other that of a love of freedom.

An expedition in which Pompey cleared the Mediterranean, which was infested with pirates, having added greatly to his reputation, the tribunes of the people hoped it would be easy to advance their favourite still higher. Manlius, therefore, one of the number, preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, with the government of all Asia, together with the management of the war, which was renewed against Mithridates, should be committed to Pompey alone. The law passed with little opposition, and the decree was confirmed.

Being thus appointed to the command of that important war, he departed for Asia. Mithridates had been obliged, by Lucullus, to take refuge in Lesser Armenia, and thither that general was preparing to follow him, when his whole army abandoned him; so that it remained for Pompey to terminate the war, which he effected with great ease and expedition, adding a large extent of dominion to the Roman empire, and returning to Rome in triumph at the head of his conquering army.

But the victories of Pompey rather served to heighten the glory, than to increase the power of Rome: they made it a more glaring object of ambition, and exposed its liberties to greater danger. Those liberties, indeed, seemed devoted to ruin on every side; for, even while he was pursuing his con-

quests abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin from a conspiracy at home. This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by birth, who resolved to build his own power on the downfall of his country. He was singularly formed both by art and nature, to conduct a conspiracy: he was possessed of courage equal to the most desperate attempts, and of eloquence to give a colour to his ambition: ruined in his fortunes, profligate in his manners, vigilant in pursuing his aims; he was insatiable after wealth, only with a view to lavish it on his guilty pleasures.

Catiline, having contracted debts in consequence of such an ill-spent life, was resolved to extricate himself from them by any means, however unlawful. Accordingly, he assembled about thirty of his debauched associates, and informed them of his aims, his hopes, and his settled plan of operations. It was resolved among them, that a general insurrection should be raised throughout Italy, the different parts of which he assigned to different leaders. Rome was to be fired in several places at once; and Catiline at the head of an army raised in Etruria, was, in the general confusion, to possess himself of the city, and massacre all the senators. Lentulus, one of his profligate assistants, who had been prætor or judge in the city, was to preside in their general councils: Cethegus, a man who sacrificed the possession of great present power to the hopes of gratifying his revenge against Cicero, was to direct the massacre through the city; and Cassius was to



conduct those who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a chief obstacle to their designs, Catiline was very desirous to see him taken off before he left Rome; upon which, two knights in the company undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on pretence of business. But the meeting was no sooner over, than Cicero had information of all that passed in it; for, by the intrigues of a woman, named Fulvia, he had gained over Curius, her lover, and one of the conspirators, to send him a punctual account of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himself against the designs of his morning visitors, who were punctual to the appointment, he next took care to provide for the defence of the city; when assembling the senate, he consulted what was best to be done in such a time of danger. The first step taken was to offer considerable rewards for farther discoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the state. Catiline, to show how well he could dissemble, or justify any crime, went boldly to the senate, declaring his innocence; but, when confounded by the eloquence of Cicero, he hastily withdrew, declaring aloud, that since he was denied a vindication of himself, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguish the flame which was raised about him, in universal ruin. After a short conference with Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome by night, with a small retinue, to hasten towards Etruria, where Manlius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army to support him.

In the mean time, Cicero took proper precautions to secure all those of the conspiracy who remained in Rome. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cassius, and several others were put into confinement; and soon after delivered over to the executioners, and strangled in prison.

While his associates were put to death in the city, Catiline had raised an army of twelve thousand men, of which a fourth part only were completely armed, the rest being furnished with what chance afforded; darts, lances, and clubs. He refused, at first, to enlist slaves, who flocked to him in great numbers, trusting to the strength of the conspiracy; but, upon the approach of the consul, who was sent against him, and upon the arrival of the news, that his confederates were put to death, the face of affairs altered. His first attempt therefore, was, by long marches, to make his escape over the Apennines into Gaul; but, in this, his hopes were disappointed; all the passes being guarded by an army superior to his own. Being thus hemmed in on every side, and seeing all things desperate, with nothing left him, but either to die or conquer, he resolved to make one vigorous effort against that army which pursued him. Antonius, the consul, being sick, the command devolved upon Petreius; who after a fierce and bloody action, in which he lost a considerable part of his best troops, put Catiline's forces to the rout, and destroyed his whole army.

The extinction of this conspiracy seemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great

men to display itself in, Pompey was now returned in triumph from conquering the East, as he had before been victorious in Europe and Africa.

Crassus was the richest man in Rome; next to Pompey, he possessed the greatest authority; his party in the senate was even stronger than that of his rival, and the envy raised against him was less. He and Pompey had long been disunited by an opposition of interests, and of characters : however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealousies, that the state was in some measure to expect its future safety. It was in this situation of things, that Julius Cæsar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, resolved to convert their mutual jealousy to his own advantage. This celebrated man was descended from popular and illustrious ancestors. He warmly espoused the side of the people, and, shortly after the death of Sylla, procured those, whom Sylla had banished, to be recalled. He had all along declared for the populace against the senate, and became their most favourite magistrate. This consummate statesman began by offering his services to Pompey, promising to assist him in getting all his acts passed, notwithstanding the senate's opposition. Pompey, pleased at the acquisition of a person of so much merit, readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Crassus, who, from former connexions, was disposed to become still more nearly his friend. At length, finding them not averse to a union of interests, he took an opportunity of

bringing them together; and, remonstrating to them on the advantages, as well as necessity, of a reconciliation, he had art enough to persuade them to forget former animosities. A combination was thus formed, by which they agreed that nothing should be done in the commonwealth, but what received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This was called the *First Triumvirate*, in which we find the constitution weakened by a new interest, which had not hitherto taken place, very different from that of the senate or the people, and yet dependent on both.

.....

## CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE  
TO THE DEATH OF POMPEY. — U. C. 694.

THE first thing Cæsar did, upon forming the triumvirate, was to avail himself of the interest of his confederates to obtain the consulship. The senate had still some influence left; and though they were obliged to concur in choosing him, yet they gave him for a colleague one Bibulus, who, they supposed, would be a check upon his power; but the opposition was too strong for even superior abilities to resist; so that Bibulus, after a slight attempt in favour of the senate, remained inactive. Cæsar began his schemes for empire, by ingratiating himself with the people: he procured a law for dividing certain

lands in Campania, among such of the poor citizens as had at least three children. This proposal was just enough in itself, and it was only criminal from the views of the proposer.

Having thus strengthened himself at home, he deliberated with his confederates about sharing the foreign provinces of the empire. The partition was soon made: Pompey chose Spain; for, being fatigued with conquest, an satiated with military fame, he was willing to take his pleasures at Rome. Crassus chose Syria; which province, as it had hitherto enriched the generals who had subdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in this his favourite pursuit. To Cæsar was left the provinces of Gaul; composed of fierce and powerful nations, most of them unsubdued, and the rest only professing a nominal subjection. As this was appointing him rather to conquer than command, the government was granted him for five years; as if, by its continuance, to compensate for its danger.

It would be impossible in this narrow compass, to enumerate the battles Cæsar fought, and the states he subdued, in his expeditions into Gaul and Britain, which continued eight years. The Helvetians were the first that were brought into subjection, with the loss of near two hundred thousand men; those, who remained after the carnage, were sent by Cæsar, in safety, to the forests from which they had issued. The Germans, with Ariovistus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thousand; their monarch himself narrowly escaping

in a little boat across the Rhine. The Belgæ suffered such a terrible overthrow, that marshes and rivers were rendered impassable from the heaps of slain. The Nervians, who were the most warlike of those barbarous nations, made head for a short time, and fell upon the Romans with such fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæsar himself, hastily catching up a buckler, rushed through his troops into the midst of the enemy; by which means he so turned the fate of the day, that the barbarians were all cut off to a man. The Celtic Gauls were next brought under subjection. After them, the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the British sea. Thence, stimulated by the desire of conquest, he crossed over into Britain, upon pretence that the natives had furnished his enemies with continual supplies. Upon approaching the shores, he found them covered with men to oppose his landing, and his forces were in danger of being driven back, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped ashore, and, being well assisted by Cæsar, the natives were put to flight. The Britons, being terrified at Cæsar's power, sent to desire a peace, which was granted them, and some hostages delivered. A storm, however, soon after destroying great part of his fleet, they resolved to take advantage of the disaster, and marched against him with a powerful army. But what could a naked undisciplined army do against forces that had been exercised under the greatest generals, and hardened by the conquest of the

greatest part of the world? Being overthrown, they were obliged once more to sue for peace. Cæsar granted it, and returned to the continent.

While Cæsar was thus increasing his reputation and riches abroad, Pompey, who remained in Rome, steadily cooperated with his ambition, and advanced his interests, while he vainly supposed he was forwarding his own. By his means, Cæsar was continued five years longer in Gaul. Nor was Pompey roused from his lethargy, till the fame of that great commander's valour, riches, and humanity, began to make him suspect they would soon eclipse his own. He now, therefore, did all in his power to diminish Cæsar's reputation; obliging the magistrates not to publish any letters they received, till he had diminished the credit of them, by spreading disadvantageous reports. One or two accidents also helped to widen the separation, namely, the death of Julia, Pompey's wife, who had not a little contributed to improve the harmony that subsisted between them; and the destruction of Crassus, who had conducted the war against the Parthians with so little prudence, that he suffered the enemy to get the advantage of him in almost every skirmish; when incapable of extricating himself, he fell a sacrifice to his own rashness, and lost his life bravely defending himself to the last.

Cæsar, who now began to be sensible of the jealousies of Pompey, took occasion to solicit for the consulship, together with a prolongation of his government in Gaul, desirous of trying whether Pom-

pey would thwart or promote his pretensions. In this Pompey seemed to be quite inactive; but at the same time, privately employed two of his creatures, who alleged in the senate, that the laws did not permit a person that was absent, to offer himself as a candidate for that high office. Pompey's view in this was to allure Cæsar from his government, in order to stand for the consulship in person. Cæsar, however, perceiving his artifice, chose to remain in his province; convinced that, while he headed an army devoted to him, he could give law as well as magistrates to the state.

The senate, which was devoted to Pompey, because he had for some time attempted to defend them from the encroachments of the people, ordered home the two legions which were in Cæsar's army, belonging to Pompey: as it was pretended, to oppose the Parthians, but in reality to diminish Cæsar's power. Cæsar saw their motive; but as his plans were not yet ripe for execution, he sent them in pursuance of the orders of the senate, having previously attached the officers to him by benefits, and the soldiers by bounties. The next step the senate took was to recall Cæsar from his government, as his time was very near expiring. But Curio, his friend in the senate, proposed, that Cæsar should not leave his army, till Pompey had set him the example. This for a while perplexed Pompey; however, during the debate, one of the senate declaring that Cæsar had passed the Alps, and was marching with his whole army directly towards Rome; the consul, imme-



diately quitting the senate, went with his colleagues to a house where Pompey at that time resided. He there presented him with a sword, commanding him to march against Cæsar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey declared he was ready to obey; but with an air of pretended moderation added, that it was only in case more gentle expedients could not be employed.

Cæsar, who was instructed of all that passed, though he was still in Gaul, was willing to give his aims all the appearance of justice. He agreed to lay down his employment, when Pompey should do the same. But the senate rejected his propositions, blindly confident of their power, and relying on the assurances of Pompey. Cæsar, still unwilling to come to an open rupture with the state, at last was content to ask the government of Illyria, with two legions; but this also was refused him. Finding all attempts at an accommodation fruitless: and conscious, if not of the goodness of his cause, at least of the goodness of his troops, he began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy, and, passing the Alps, with the third legion, stopped at Ravenna; whence he once more wrote to the consuls, declaring that he was ready to resign all commands, in case Pompey would do so too. On the other *hand*, the senate decreed, that Cæsar should lay down his government, and disband his forces within a limited time; and, if he refused obedience, that he should be declared an enemy to the commonwealth.

Cæsar, however, seemed no way disturbed at

these violent proceedings : the night before his intended expedition into Italy, he sat down to table, cheerfully conversing with his friends on subjects of literature and philosophy, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious concern. After some time, rising up, he desired the company to make themselves joyous in his absence, and that he would be with them in a moment : in the mean time, having ordered his chariot to be prepared, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Ariminum, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had dispatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey by night, which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, sometimes walking, and sometimes on horseback, till at the break of day he came up with his army, which consisted of about five thousand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which separates Italy from Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had ever been taught to consider this river as the sacred boundary of their domestic empire : Cæsar, therefore, when he advanced at the head of his army to the side of it, stopped short upon the bank, as if impressed with terror at the greatness of his enterprise. He could not pass it without transgressing the laws : and therefore pondered for some time in fixed melancholy, looking and debating with himself whether he should venture in. « If I pass this river, » said he to one of his generals, « what miseries shall I bring upon my country! and, if now I stop short, I am undone.

« Let us go where the gods, and the injustice of our enemies, call us. » Thus saying, and resuming all his former alacrity, he plunged in, crying out, « The die is cast, and now all is over. » His soldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and, having passed the Rubicon, quickly arrived at Ariminum, and made themselves masters of the place without any resistance.

This unexpected enterprise excited the utmost terrors in Rome, every one imagining that Cæsar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. At one time were to be seen the citizens fleeing into the country for safety, and the inhabitants of the country coming up to seek for shelter in the city. In this universal confusion, Pompey felt all that repentance and self-condemnation, which must necessarily arise from the remembrance of having advanced his rival to his present pitch of power : wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to tax him with his supineness, and sarcastically to reproach his ill-grounded presumption. « Where is now, » cried Favonius, a ridiculous senator of this party, « the army that is to rise at your command? Let us see if it will appear by stamping. » Cato reminded him of the many warnings he had given him; which, however, as he was continually boding nothing but calamities, Pompey might very justly be excused from attending to. But being at length wearied with these reproaches, which were offered under colour of advice, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and confirm his followers :

he told them, that they should not want an army, for that he would be their leader. He confessed, indeed, that he had all along mistaken Cæsar's aims, judging only from what they ought to have been; however, if his friends were still inspired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place their necessities should happen to conduct them. He let them know, that their affairs were in a very promising situation; that his two lieutenants were at the head of a very considerable army in Spain, composed of veteran troops, that had made a conquest of the East: beside these, there were infinite resources, both in Asia and Africa, together with the succours they were sure to receive from all the kingdoms that were in alliance with Rome. This speech served, in some measure, to revive the hopes of the confederacy. The greatest part of the senate, his private friends and dependants, with all those who expected to make their fortunes by espousing his cause, agreed to follow him. Being in no capacity to resist Cæsar at Rome, he resolved to lead his forces to Capua; where he commanded the two legions that served under Cæsar in Gaul.

Cæsar, in the mean time, after having vainly attempted to bring Pompey to an accommodation, resolved to pursue him into Campania, before he could collect his forces. Accordingly, he marched on to take possession of the cities that lay between him and his rival, not regarding Rome, which he knew would fall of course to the conqueror.

Confinium was the first city that attempted to stop

the rapidity of his march. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the senate to succeed him in Gaul. Cæsar quickly invested it; and though Domitius sent frequently to Pompey, exhorting him to come and raise the siege, he was at last obliged to endeavour to escape privately. His intentions being divulged, the garrison resolved to consult their own safety by delivering him up to the besiegers. Cæsar readily accepted their offers, but kept his men from immediately entering into the town. After some time, Lentulus, the consul, who was one of the besieged, came out to implore forgiveness for himself and the rest of his confederates, putting Cæsar in mind of their ancient friendship, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands. To this, Cæsar, who would not wait the conclusion of his speech, generously replied, that he came into Italy not to injure the liberties of Rome and its citizens, but to restore them. This humane reply being quickly carried into the city, the senators and the knights, with their children and some officers of the garrison, came out to claim the conqueror's protection, who, just glancing at their ingratitude, gave them their liberty, with permission to go wherever they should think proper. But, while he dismissed the leaders, he took care, upon this, as upon all other occasions, to attach the common soldiers to his interest, sensible that he might stand in need of an army; but that, while he lived, the army could never stand in need of a commander.

Pompey, who was unable to continue in Rome, having intelligence of what had passed upon this occasion, retreated to Brundisium, where he resolved to stand a siege in order to retard the enemy, until the forces of the empire should be united to oppose him. His aim in this succeeded to his wish, and, after having employed Cæsar for some time in a fruitless siege, he privately carried his forces over to Dyrrhachium, where the consul had levied a body of troops for his assistance. However, though he made good his escape, he was compelled to leave all Italy at the mercy of his rival, without a town or an army that had strength to oppose his progress.

Cæsar, who could not follow Pompey for want of shipping, went back to Rome to take possession of the public treasures, which his opponent, by a most unaccountable oversight, had neglected to take with him. Upon his coming up to the door of the treasury, Metellus, the tribune, who guarded it, refused to let him pass; but Cæsar, with emotion, laying his hand upon his sword, threatened to strike him dead: « Know, young man, » cried he, « it is easier to *do* this, than to *say* it. » This menace had its effect: Metellus retired; and Cæsar took out of the treasury three thousand pound weight of gold, and an immense quantity of silver.

Having thus provided for continuing the war, he departed from Rome, resolved to subdue Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, who had been long in Spain at the head of a veteran army, which had ever been victorious. Cæsar, however, who

knew the abilities of its present commanders, jocosely said, as he was preparing to march, « I am  
« going to fight an army without a general, and re-  
« turn to fight a general without an army. »

The first conflict, which he had with Afranius and Petreius, was rather unfavourable. It was fought near the city of Herda, and both sides claimed the honour of the victory. But, by various stratagems, he reduced them at last to such extremity of hunger and drought, that they were obliged to yield at discretion. Clemency was his favourite virtue : he dismissed them all with the kindest professions, and sent them to Rome, loaded with shame and with obligations, to publish his virtues, and confirm the affections of his adherents. Thus, in the space of about forty days, he became master of all Spain, and returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens, upon this occasion, received him with fresh demonstrations of joy, and created him dictator and consul. But the first of these offices he laid down, when he had held it eleven days.

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey was active in making preparations in Epirus and Greece to oppose him. All the monarchs of the East had declared in his favour, and sent very large supplies. He was master of nine effective Italian legions, and had a fleet of five hundred large ships under the conduct of Bibulus, an active and experienced commander. Added to these, he was supplied with large sums of money, and all the necessaries for an army, from the tributary provinces round him. He had

attacked Antony and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæsar in that part of the empire, with such success, that the former was obliged to flee, and the latter was taken prisoner. Crowds of the most distinguished citizens and nobles from Rome came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred senators in his camp, among whom were Cicero and Cato, whose approbation of his cause was equivalent to an army.

Notwithstanding these preparations, Cæsar shipped off five of his twelve legions, at Brundisium, and fortunately steered through the midst of his enemies, timing it so well, that he made his passage in one day. Still, however, convinced that the proper time for making proposals for a peace, was after gaining an advantage, he sent one Rufus, whom he had taken prisoner, to effect an accommodation with Pompey, offering to refer all to the senate and people of Rome; but Pompey once more rejected the overture, holding the people of Rome too much in Cæsar's interests to be relied on.

Pompey had been raising supplies in Macedonia, when he was first informed of Cæsar's landing upon the coast of Epirus; he now resolved immediately to march to Dyrrhachium, in order to cover that place from Cæsar's attempts, as all his ammunition and provision were deposited there. The first place, where both armies came in sight of each other, was on the opposite banks of the river Apsus, and, as both were commanded by the two greatest generals then in the world, the one renowned for his con-



quest of the East, the other celebrated for his victories over the Western parts of the empire, a battle was eagerly desired by the soldiers on either side. But neither of the generals was willing to hazard it upon this occasion; Pompey could not rely upon his new levies; and Cæsar would not venture an engagement, till he was joined by the rest of his forces.

Cæsar had waited some time with extreme impatience for the coming up of the remainder of his army; and even ventured out alone in an open fishing-boat to hasten its arrival, but he was driven back by a storm. However, his disappointment was soon relieved, by an information of the landing of the troops at Apollonia: he, therefore, decamped in order to meet them; and to prevent Pompey with his army from engaging them on their march, as he lay on that side of the river where the succours had been obliged to come on shore.

Pompey, being compelled to retreat, led his forces to Asparagium, where he was sure of being supplied with every thing necessary for his army, by the numerous fleets which he employed along the coasts of Epirus: there he pitched his camp upon a tongue of land (as mariners express it) that jutted into the sea, where also was a small shelter for his ships: in this place, being most advantageously situate, he immediately began to entrench his camp; which Cæsar perceiving, and finding that he was not likely soon to quit so advantageous a post, began also to entrench behind him. And as all beyond Pompey's camp, towards the land side, was hilly and steep,

he built redoubts upon the hills, stretching round from shore to shore; and then caused lines of communication to be drawn from hill to hill, by which he blocked up the camp of the enemy. He hoped, by this blockade, to force his opponent to a battle; which he ardently desired, and which the other with equal industry declined. Thus both sides continued for some time employed in designs and stratagems, the one to annoy, and the other to defend. Cæsar's men daily carried on their works to straiten the enemy: those of Pompey did the same to enlarge themselves, having the advantage of numbers, and severely galled the enemy by their slingers and archers. Cæsar, however, was indefatigable: he caused blinds or mantelets to be made of skins of beasts, to cover his men while at work: he cut off all the water that supplied the enemy's camp, and the forage from the horses; so that there remained no more subsistence for them. But Pompey, at last, resolved to break through his lines, and gain some other part of the country more convenient for encampment. Accordingly, having informed himself of the condition of Cæsar's fortifications from some deserters, who came over to him, he ordered the light infantry and archers on board his ships, to attack Cæsar's entrenchments by sea, where they were least defended. This was done with such effect, that though Cæsar and his officers used their utmost endeavours to hinder Pompey's designs, yet by means of reiterated attempts, he at last effected his purpose of extricating his army from its present

camp, and of encamping in another place by the sea, where he had the conveniency both of forage and shipping. Cæsar, being thus frustrated in his views of blocking up the enemy, and perceiving the loss he had sustained, resolved at last to force Pompey to a battle, though upon disadvantageous terms. The engagement began by attempting to cut off a legion which was posted in a wood; and this brought on a general battle. The conflict was for some time carried on with great ardour, and with equal fortune; but Cæsar's army being entangled in the entrenchments of the old camps lately abandoned, began to fall into disorder; upon which, Pompey pressing his advantage, they at last fled with precipitation. Great numbers perished in the trenches and on the banks of the river, or were pressed to death by their fellows. Pompey pursued his successes to the very camp of Cæsar; but, either from surprise under the suddenness of his victory, or fearful of an ambuscade, he withdrew his troops into his own camp, and thus lost an opportunity of completing his victory.

After this defeat, which was by no means decisive, Cæsar marched, with all his forces united into one body, directly to Gomphi, a town in the province of Thessaly. But the news of his defeat at Dyrrhachium had reached this place before him; the inhabitants, therefore, who had before promised him obedience, now changed their minds; and, with a degree of baseness, equal to their imprudence, shut their gates against him. Cæsar was not to be injured

with impunity. Having represented to his soldiers the great advantages of forcing a place so very rich, he ordered the machines for scaling to be got ready; and, causing an assault to be made, proceeded with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the height of the walls, the town was taken in a few hours. Cæsar left it to be plundered, and, without delaying his march, went forward to Metropolis, another town of the same province, which yielded at his approach. By this means, he soon became possessed of all Thessaly, except Larissa, which was garrisoned by Scipio with his legion, who commanded for Pompey. During this interval, Pompey's officers continually soliciting their commander to come to a battle, he, at length, resolved to renounce his own judgment in compliance with those about him, and to give up all schemes of prudence for those dictated by avarice and passion. Advancing therefore into Thessaly, within a few days after the taking of Gomphi, he drew down upon the plains of Pharsalia, where he was joined by Scipio, his lieutenant, and the troops under his command. There waiting the coming up of Cæsar, he resolved upon engaging, and, by a single battle, deciding the fate of the kingdom.

Cæsar had employed all his art for some time in sounding the inclinations of his men; and, finding his army once more resolute and vigorous, he advanced towards the plains of Pharsalia, where Pompey was encamped.

The approach of the two armies, composed of the best and bravest troops in the world, together

with the greatness of the prize for which they contended, filled every mind with anxiety, though with different expectation. Pompey's army, being most numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory : Cæsar's with better aim, considered only the means of obtaining it ; Pompey's army depended upon their numbers, and their many generals ; Cæsar's upon their discipline, and the conduct of their single commander. Pompey's partizans hoped much from the justice of their cause : Cæsar's alleged the frequent proposals which they had made for peace without effect. Thus the views, hopes, and motives of both seemed different, while their hatred and ambition were the same. Cæsar, who was ever foremost in offering battle, led out his army to meet the enemy ; but Pompey, either suspecting the troops, or dreading the event, kept his advantageous situation, at the foot of the hill near which he was posted. Cæsar, unwilling to attack him at a disadvantage, resolved to decamp the next day, hoping to weary out his antagonist, who was not a match for him in sustaining the fatigues of duty. Accordingly, the order for marching was given, and the tents struck, when word was brought him, that Pompey's army had now quitted their entrenchments, and advanced farther into the plain than usual ; so that he might engage them at less disadvantage. Upon this, he caused his troops to halt, and, with a countenance of joy, informed them, that the happy time was at last come, which they had so long wished for, and which was to crown their glory,

and terminate their fatigues. He drew up his troops in order, and advanced towards the place of battle. His forces did not amount to above half those of Pompey: the army of the one was about forty-five thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; that of the other not exceeding twenty-two thousand foot, and about a thousand horse. This disproportion, particularly in the cavalry, had filled Cæsar with apprehensions; he therefore had, some days before, picked out the strongest and nimblest of his foot-soldiers, and accustomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry. By their assistance, his thousand horse was a match for Pompey's seven thousand, and had actually got the better in a skirmish, that happened between them some days before.

Pompey, on the other hand, had a strong expectation of success; he boasted, that he could put Cæsar's legions to flight, without striking a single blow; presuming that, as soon as the armies formed, his cavalry, on which he placed his greatest expectations, would outflank and surround the enemy. In this disposition Pompey led his troops to battle.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank, encouraging their men, warming their hopes, and lessening their apprehensions. Pompey represented to his men, that the glorious occasion which they had long besought him to grant was now before them: « What advantages, » said he, « could you wish, that you are not now possessed of? » Your numbers, your vigour, a late victory, all assure us of a speedy and an easy conquest of those

« harassed and broken troops composed of men worn  
« out with age, and impressed with the terrors of a  
« recent defeat; but there is still a stronger bulwark  
« for our protection than the superiority of our  
« strength, and that is the justice of our cause. You  
« are engaged in the defence of liberty and of your  
« country; you are supported by its laws, and follow-  
« ed by its magistrates; the world are spectators of  
« your conduct, and wish you success : on the con-  
« trary, he, whom you oppose, is a robber, an op-  
« pressor of his country, already almost sunk with  
« the consciousness of his crimes, as well as the ill  
« success of his arms. Show then, on this occasion,  
« all that ardour and detestation of tyranny, which  
« should animate Romans, and do justice to man-  
« kind.» Cæsar, on his part, went among his men  
with that steady serenity, for which he was so much  
admired in the midst of danger. He insisted on no-  
thing so strongly, as his frequent and unsuccessful  
endeavours for peace. He talked with terror of the  
blood he was going to shed, and pleaded only the  
necessity that urged him to it. He deplored the ma-  
ny brave men that were to fall on both sides, and  
the wounds of his country, whoever might be victo-  
rious. His soldiers answered only with looks of ar-  
dour and impatience. He gave the signal to begin.  
The word on Pompey's side was, « Hercules the in-  
« vincible : » that on Cæsar's, « Venus the victorious. »  
There was no more space between both armies than  
to give room for fighting : Pompey, therefore, orde-  
red his men to receive the first shock without mov-

ing from their places, expecting the enemy's ranks to be put into disorder. Cæsar's soldiers were now rushing on with their usual impetuosity, when, perceiving the enemy motionless, they all stopped short, as if by general consent, and halted in the midst of their career. A terrible pause ensued, in which both armies continued to gaze upon each other with mutual terror and dreadful serenity. At length, Cæsar's men, having taken breath, ran furiously upon the enemy, first discharging their javelins, and then drawing their swords. The same method was observed by Pompey's troops, who as firmly had sustained the attack. His cavalry, also, were ordered to charge at the very onset, which, with the multitude of archers and slingers, soon obliged Cæsar's men to give ground. Cæsar instantly ordered the six cohorts, that were placed as a reinforcement, to advance, and to strike at the enemy's faces. This had its desired effect: Pompey's cavalry, that were just before sure of victory, received an immediate check. The unusual method of fighting pursued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the visages of the assailants, and the horrible disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to intimidate so much, that, instead of defending their persons, they endeavoured only to save their faces. A total rout ensued: they fled to the neighbouring mountains; while the archers and slingers who were thus abandoned, were cut to pieces. Cæsar now commanded the cohorts to pursue their success, and charge Pompey's troops upon the flank: this charge the enemy withstood for some time with



great bravery, till Cæsar brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by fresh troops, and in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer resist, but fled to their camp. The flight began among the strangers. Pompey's right wing still valiantly maintained its ground. Cæsar, however, convinced that the victory was certain, with his usual clemency, cried out to pursue the strangers, but to spare the Romans; upon which they all laid down their arms, and received quarter. The greatest slaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all sides. The battle had now lasted from break of day till noon; the weather was extremely hot; nevertheless, the conquerors remitted not their ardour, being encouraged by the example of a general, who thought his victory incomplete till he should become master of the enemy's camp. Accordingly, marching on foot at their head, he called upon them to follow and strike the decisive blow. The cohorts, which were left to defend the camp, for some time made a formidable resistance, particularly a great number of Thracians and other barbarians who were appointed for that purpose; but nothing could resist the ardour of Cæsar's victorious army; the enemy were at last driven from the trenches, and they all fled to the mountains. Cæsar, seeing the field and camp strewn with his fallen countrymen, was strongly affected at the melancholy prospect, and cried out to one that stood near him, « They would have it so. » Upon entering the camp, every object presented fresh instances of

the blind presumption and madness of his adversaries. On all sides were to be seen tents adorned with ivy and myrtle, couches covered with purple, and sideboards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the highest luxury, and seemed rather the preparatives for a banquet, or the rejoicings for a victory, than dispositions for a battle. A camp so richly furnished, might have been able to engage the attention of any troops but Cæsar's; but there was still something to be done, and he permitted them not to pursue any other object than their enemies. A considerable body having retired to the adjacent mountains, he prevailed on his soldiers to join him in the pursuit, in order to oblige these to surrender. He began by inclosing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a post, which was untenable for want of water, and endeavoured to reach the city of Larissa. Cæsar, leading a part of his army by a shorter way, intercepted their retreat. However, these unhappy fugitives again found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet, which supplied them with water. Night approaching, Cæsar's men were almost spent, and fainting with their incessant toil since morning; yet still he prevailed upon them, once more, to renew their labours, and to cut off the rivulet that supplied the defendants. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of succour or subsistence, sent deputies to the conqueror, offering to surrender at discretion. During this interval of negotiation, a few senators that were among them,

\*\*

took the advantage of the night to escape, and the rest next morning gave up their arms, and experienced the conqueror's clemency. In fact, he addressed them with great gentleness, and forbade the soldiers to offer violence, or to take any thing from them. Thus Cæsar gained the most complete victory that had ever been obtained : and, by his great clemency after the battle, seemed to have deserved it. His loss amounted only to two hundred men ; that of Pompey to fifteen thousand : twenty-four thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and the greatest part of these entered into Cæsar's army, and were incorporated with the rest of his forces. To the senators and Roman knights, who fell into his hands, he generously gave liberty to retire wherever they thought proper ; and as for the letters, which Pompey had received from those who wished to be thought neutral, Cæsar burned them all without reading, as Pompey had done upon a former occasion. Thus having performed all the duties of a general and a statesman, he sent for the legions which had passed the night in camp, to relieve those which had accompanied him in the pursuit, and arrived the same day at Larissa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly shown such instances of courage and conduct, when he saw his cavalry routed, on which he had placed his sole dependance, he absolutely lost his reason. Instead of thinking how to remedy this disorder, by rallying such troops as fled, or by opposing fresh troops to stop the progress of the conqueror, being totally

amazed by this first blow, he returned to the camp, and, in his tent, waited the issue of an event, which it was his duty to have directed, not to follow; there he remained for some moments speechless, till being told, that the camp was attacked, «What,» says he, «are we pursued to our very entrenchments?» when immediately quitting his armour for a habit more suited to his circumstances, he fled, on horseback, to Larissa: thence, perceiving that he was not pursued, he slackened his pace, giving way to all the agonizing reflections which his deplorable situation must naturally suggest. In this melancholy manner he passed along the vale of Tempe, and, pursuing the course of the river Peneus, at last arrived at a fisherman's hut. Here he passed the night, and then went on board a little bark, keeping along the sea-shore, till he descried a ship of some burden, which seemed preparing to sail. In this he embarked; the master of the vessel still paying him that homage which was due to his former station.

From the mouth of the river Peneus, he sailed to Amphipolis, where, finding his affairs desperate, he steered to Lesbos, to take with him his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there, at a distance from the dangers and distress of war. She, who had long flattered herself with the hopes of victory, now felt the agonizing reverse of fortune: she was desired by the messenger, whose tears, more than his words, proclaimed her unspeakable misfortunes, to hasten away, if she expected to see Pompey, who had but one ship, and even that not his own. Her grief, which

before was violent, became now insupportable : she fainted, and lay without signs of life. At length, recovering, and reflecting that it was no time for vain lamentations, she fled through the city to the sea-side.

Pompey received and embraced her, and in silent despair supported her in his arms. Alas! said Cornelia, you who, before our marriage, appeared in these seas as the commander of five hundred sail, are now reduced to make your escape in a single vessel : Why come you in search of an unfortunate woman? Why was I not left to a fate, which now you are under the necessity of sharing along with me? Happy for me, had I executed, long since, my design, of quitting this life! but fatally have I been reserved to add to Pompey's sorrows!

Pompey instanced the uncertainty of all human affairs, and endeavoured, by every argument, to give her comfort. Taking her under his protection, he therefore continued his course, stopping no longer than was necessary for a supply of provision at the ports that occurred in his passage. He now determined upon applying to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to whose father he had been a considerable benefactor. Ptolemy was yet a minor, and had not the government in his own hands; but was under the direction of an administration. His council insidiously contrived, that Pompey should be invited on shore; and murdered before he should come into the king's presence. Achilles, commander of the forces, and Septimius, a Roman, who had formerly been a cen-

turion in Pompey's army, undertook to carry the treacherous design into execution. Attended by three or four more, they put off in a little bark, and rowed to Pompey's ship, that lay a mile from shore.

Pompey now took leave of Cornelia, repeating to her a verse of Sophocles, signifying, that *he who trusts his freedom to a tyrant, from that moment becomes a slave*. He then gave his hand to Achilles, and, with only two of his own attendants stepped into the bark. The frantic Cornelia hung over the side of the deck, weeping and crying out against his separation from her, « Alas! » said she, « where art thou going? »

He stoke; but she unmoved at his commands,  
Thus loud exclaiming, stretched her eager hands:  
Whither, inhuman! whither art thou gone?  
Still must I weep our common griefs alone?

ROWE'S LUCAN.

In wild astonishment following him with her eyes;  
and uttering to the winds her fruitless lamentations.

The mariners, regardless, rowed towards land, without a word passing among them, till Pompey, by way of breaking silence, looking at Septimius, whose face he recollected, « Methinks, friend, » said he, « you once served under me. » Septimius, noticing these words only by a contemptuous nod of the head, Pompey betook himself to a paper on which he had minuted a speech intended to be made to the king; and began reading it. In this manner they approached the shore; whilst Cornelia, whose insufferable sorrow had never let her lose sight of her husband, began to conceive hopes, perceiving that the

people on the strand crowded down along the coast, as if eager to receive him. Alas! these hopes were soon destroyed. At the instant that Pompey rose, supporting himself upon his freedman's arm, Septimius stabbed him in the back, and Achilles instantly seconded the blow. Pompey, perceiving his death inevitable, calmly disposed himself to meet it with decency; and, covering his face with his robe, without a word, resigned himself to his fate. At this horrid sight, Cornelia and her attendants shrieked, so as to be heard to the very shore. But the danger they were in allowing no time to look on, they immediately set sail, and, the wind proving favourable, fortunately escaped the pursuit of the Egyptian gallees. In the mean time, Pompey's murderers, having taken off his head, embalmed it for a present to Cæsar; while the body was thrown naked on the strand, and exposed to the view of those whose curiosity was to be satisfied. But his faithful freedman, Philip, still kept near it; and, when the crowd dispersed, he washed it in the sea; and, looking round for materials to burn it, perceived the wrecks of a fishing-boat, of which he composed a pile. While he was thus piously employed, he was accosted by an old Roman soldier, who had served under Pompey in his youth. « Who art thou, » said he, « that art making « these humble preparations for Pompey's funeral? » — « One of his freedmen, » answered Philip. « Alas! » replied the soldier, « permit me to share with you « the honour of this sacred action. Among all the « miseries of my exile, it will be my last sad comfort,

« that I have been able to assist at the funeral of my  
 « old commander, and to touch the body of the bra-  
 « vest general that ever Rome produced. »

Thus were the last rites performed to Pompey. But his ashes ( according to Plutarch, ) were carefully collected, and carried to Cornelia, who deposited them at his villa, near Alba, in Italy. We are told, too, that the Egyptians afterwards erected a monument to him, on the spot on which his funeral pile had been raised, with an inscription to this purpose. « How poor a tomb covers the man, who once  
 « had temples erected to his honour ! »

From Pompey's death we date the extinction of the republic. From this period the senate was dispossessed of its power; and Rome henceforward was never without a master.

.....

## CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO  
 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST EMPEROR AU-  
 GUSTUS. — U. C. 706.

**C**ÆSAR has been much celebrated for his good fortune, but his abilities seem equal to the highest success. He possessed shining qualities, with the intermixture only of ambition. His talents were such as would have rendered him victorious at the head of any army; and he would have governed in any republic that had given him birth. Having now gained a most complete victory, his success only seemed to increase his activity, and inspire him with fresh re-



solution to face new dangers. He resolved, therefore, to pursue his last advantage, and follow Pompey to whatever country he had retired, convinced that, though he might gain new triumphs, he should never enjoy security.

Accordingly, losing no time, he set sail for Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria with about four thousand men. A very inconsiderable force this to keep such a powerful kingdom under subjection. The first accounts he received were of Pompey's miserable end; and, soon after, one of the murderers came with his head and his ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. But Cæsar had too much humanity to be pleased with so horrid a spectacle; with the sad remains of the man he loved; his partner in power. He turned from it with disgust: and, after a short pause, went to his pity in a flood of tears. He ordered the head to be burned with the most costly perfumes, and placed the ashes in a temple, dedicated to the goddess Nemesis, the avenger of cruel and inhuman deeds.

It should seem that the Egyptians, by this time, had some hopes of breaking off all alliance with the Romans; which they considered, as in fact it was, no more than subjection. They first took offence at Cæsar's carrying the ensigns of Roman power before him as he entered the city. Photinus also treated him with great disrespect, and even attempted his life. Cæsar, however, concealed his resentment till he had a force sufficient to punish his treachery; and sending privately for the legions, which had been

formerly inrolled for Pompey's service, as being the nearest to Egypt, he, in the mean time, pretended to repose an entire confidence in the king's minister, making great entertainments, and assisting at the conferences of the philosophers, who were numerous at Alexandria. However, he soon changed his manner, when he found himself in no danger from the *minister's* attempts, and declared that, as being Roman consul, it was his duty to settle the succession of the Egyptian crown.

There were at that time two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister; to whom, by the custom of the country, he was married; and who, by his father's will, shared jointly in the succession. Not being contented with a participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone; but being opposed in her views by the Roman senate, who confirmed her brother's title to the crown, she was banished into Syria, with Arsinoë her younger sister. Cæsar gave her new hopes of aspiring to the kingdom, and sent both to her and her brother to plead their cause before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, disdaining to accept this proposal, backed his refusal, by sending an army of twenty thousand men to besiege him in Alexandria. Cæsar bravely repulsed the enemy; but, finding the city of too great extent to be defended by so small an army as that which he was at the head of, he retired to the palace, which commanded the harbour, and there purposed to make his stand. Achillas, who

commanded the Egyptians, attacked him with great vigour, and aimed at making himself master of the fleet that lay before the palace. Cæsar, however, too well knew the importance of those ships in the hands of an enemy; and, therefore, burned them all, in spite of every effort to prevent him. He next possessed himself of the Isle of Pharos, by which he was enabled to receive supplies; and, in this situation, determined to withstand the united force of the Egyptians.

In the mean time, Cleopatra, having heard of the present turn in her favour, resolved to depend on Cæsar's favour for gaining the government, rather than on her own forces. But no arts, as she justly conceived, were so likely to influence Cæsar as the charms of her person, which were irresistible. She was now in the bloom of youth and beauty, while every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the most enchanting address, she joined the most harmonious voice. With all these accomplishments, she possessed a great share of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambassadors of seven different nations without an interpreter. The difficulty was how to get at Cæsar, as her enemies were in possession of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpose she went on board a small vessel, and in the evening landed near the palace, where, being wrapped up in a coverlet, she was carried as a bundle of clothes, into the very chamber of Cæsar. Her address instantly struck him; her wit and understanding

fanned the flame; but her caresses, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, entirely brought him over to second her claims.

While Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her sister Arsinoë was also strenuously engaged in the camp, in pursuing a separate interest. She had found means, by the assistance of one Ganymede, her confident, to make a large division in the Egyptian army in her favour; and, soon after, by one of those sudden revolutions, which are common in barbarian camps to this day, she caused Achilles to be murdered, and Ganymede to take the command in his stead, and to carry on the siege with greater vigour than before. Ganymede's principal effort was by letting in the sea upon those canals which supplied the palace with fresh water; but this inconvenience Cæsar remedied by digging a great number of wells. His next endeavour was, to prevent the junction of Cæsar's twenty-fourth legion, which he twice attempted in vain. He soon after made himself master of a bridge, which joined the Isle of Pharos to the continent, from which post Cæsar was resolved to dislodge him. In the heat of the action, some mariners, partly through curiosity, and partly through ambition, came and joined the combatants; but, being seized with a panic, instantly fled, and spread a general terror through the army. All Cæsar's endeavours to rally his forces were vain; the confusion was past remedy, and numbers were drowned or put to the sword in attempting to escape. Now, therefore, seeing their irremediable dis-

order of his troops, he fled to a ship, in order to get to the palace, that was just opposite; but he was no sooner on board, than such crowds entered after him, that, being apprehensive of the ship's sinking, he jumped into the sea, and swam two hundred paces to the fleet, which lay before the palace; all the time holding the *Commentaries* in his left hand above the water, and his coat of mail in his teeth.

The Alexandrians, finding their efforts to take the palace ineffectual, endeavoured, at least, to get their king out of Cæsar's power, as he had seized upon his person in the beginning of their disputes. For this purpose they made use of their customary arts of dissimulation, professing the utmost desire of peace, and only wanting the presence of their lawful prince to give a sanction to the treaty. Cæsar was sensible of their perfidy, but concealed his suspicions, and gave them their king, as he was under no apprehensions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy, however, the instant he was set at liberty, instead of promoting the peace, made every effort to give vigour to his hostilities.

In this manner was Cæsar hemmed in for some time by an artful and insidious enemy, with all manner of difficulties against him; but was, at last, relieved from this mortifying situation by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his most faithful partizans, who came with an army to his assistance. This general marched into Egypt, took the city of Pelusium, repulsed the Egyptian army with loss; and, at last, joining with Cæsar, attacked their camp with a great

slaughter of the Egyptians. Ptolemy himself, attempting to escape on board a vessel, was drowned by the ship's sinking. Cæsar thus became master of all Egypt without any farther opposition. He appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, who was then an infant, joint governors, according to the intent of their father's will, and drove out Arsinoë, with Ganymede, to banishment.

Having thus given away kingdoms, he now, for a while, seemed to relax from the usual activity of his conduct, captivated with the charms of Cleopatra. Instead of quitting Egypt to go and quell the remains of Pompey's party, he abandoned himself to his pleasures; passing whole nights in feasting, and in all the excesses of high-wrought luxury, with the young queen. He even resolved to attend her up the Nile into Ethiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly reprehended his conduct, and refused to be partners in so infamous an expedition. Thus, at length, roused from his lethargy, he resolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love; and to leave Cleopatra (by whom he had a son, who was named Cæsario), in order to oppose Pharnaces, the king of Bosphorus, who had made some inroads upon the dominions of Rome in the East.

This prince, who had cruelly deposed his father, the great Mithridates, being ambitious of reconquering those dominions, seized upon Armenia and Colchis, and overcame Domitius, who had been sent against him. Upon Cæsar's march to oppose him,

\*\*

Pharnaces, who was as much terrified at the name of the general as at the strength of his army, laboured, by all the arts of negotiation, to avert the impending danger. Cæsar, exasperated at his crimes and ingratitude, at first dissembled with the ambassadors; and, using all expedition, fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, and, in a few hours, obtained an easy and complete victory. Pharnaces, attempting to take refuge in his capital, was slain by one of his own commanders. — A just punishment for his former parricide. But Cæsar conquered him with so much ease, that, in writing to a friend at Rome, he expressed the rapidity of his victory in three words, « *Veni, vidi, vici.* » A man so accustomed to conquest, thought a slight battle scarce worth a longer letter.

Cæsar, having settled affairs in this part of the empire, embarked for Italy, where he arrived sooner than his enemies could expect, but not before his presence there was absolutely required. During his absence, he had been created consul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune of the people for life. But Antony, who in the mean time governed for him in Rome, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions ensued, which nothing but the arrival of Cæsar could appease. By his moderation and humanity, he soon restored tranquillity to the city, scarce making any distinction between those of his own and the opposite party. Having by gentle means restored his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Sci-

pio and Cato, assisted by Juba, king of Mauritania ; and , with his usual diligence , landed with a small party in Africa, while the rest of the army followed him. Scipio , coming to a battle soon after , received a complete and final overthrow , with little or no loss on the side of the victor. Juba, and Petreius his general , killed each other in despair. Scipio , attempting to escape by sea into Spain , fell in among the enemy and was slain, so that of all the generals of that undone party , Cato was now the only one that remained.

This extraordinary man , whom prosperity could not elate , nor misfortune depress , having retired into Africa, after the battle of Pharsalia, had led the wretched remains of Pompey's army through burning deserts, and tracks infested with serpents of various malignity, and was now in the city of Utica , which he had been left to defend. In love , however , with the show of Roman government , Cato had formed the principal citizens into a senate, and conceived a resolution of holding out the town. But the enthusiasm for liberty subsiding among his followers , he was resolved no longer to force men to be free , who seemed naturally prone to slavery. He now therefore , desired some of his friends to save themselves by sea , and bade others to submit to Cæsar's clemency ; observing that , as to himself, he was at last victorious. After this , supping cheerfully among his friends , he retired to his apartment , where he behaved with unusual tenderness to his son , and to all his friends. When he came into his bed-chamber,



laying himself down, he took up Plato's Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul, and read for some time. Casting his eyes to the head of his bed, he wondered much not to see his sword there; which had been conveyed away by his son's order while they were at supper. Calling to one of his domestic's, to know what was become of it, and receiving no answer, he resumed his studies; and, some time after, asked again for the sword. When he had done reading, and perceived that nobody obeyed him, he called for his domestics one after the other, and, with a peremptory air, again demanded his sword. His son, with tears, besought him, to change his resolution; but, receiving a stern reprimand, desisted from his persuasions. His sword being at length brought him, he seemed satisfied, and cried out, « Now again I am master of myself. » He took up the book again, which having perused, he fell into a sound sleep. Upon awaking, he called to one of his freedmen to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to serve them. The freedman, assuring him that all was quiet, was ordered to leave the room. Cato no sooner found himself alone than, seizing his sword, he stabbed himself below his chest. The blow not dispatching him, he fell from his bed, and overturned a table, on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise of the fall, his servants shrieked, and his son and friends immediately flew to the room. They found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels, appearing through the

wound. The surgeon, perceiving that his intestines were not wounded, was for replacing them; but Cato, recovering himself, and understanding their intention was to preserve his life, forced the surgeon from him, and with a fierce resolution tore out his bowels, and expired.

Upon the death of Cato, the war in Africa being completed, Cæsar returned in such triumph to Rome, as if he had abridged all his former triumphs only to increase the splendour of this. The citizens were astonished at the magnificence of the procession, and at the number of the countries he had subdued. It lasted four days; the first was for Gaul, the second for Egypt, the third for his victories in Asia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veteran soldiers, scarred with wounds, and now laid up for life, followed their triumphant general crowned with laurels, and conducted him to the Capitol. To every one of these he gave a sum equivalent to about a hundred and fifty pounds sterling, double that sum to the centurions, and four times as much to the superior officers. The citizens also shared his bounty: to every one he distributed ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a sum of money equal to about two pounds sterling. After this he entertained the people at above twenty thousand tables, treated them with the combat of gladiators, and filled Rome with a concourse of spectators from every part of Italy.

The people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleasure, thought their freedom too small a return

for such benefits. They seemed eager only to find out new modes of homage, and unusual epithets of adulation for their great enslaver. He was created by a new title, *Magister Morum*, or Master of the Morals of the people. He received the title of Emperor and Father of his country. His person was declared sacred; and in short, upon him alone were devolved for life all the great dignities of the state. It must be owned, that so much power could never have been entrusted to better keeping. He immediately began his empire by repressing vice, and encouraging virtue. He committed the power of judicature to the senators and the knights alone, and by many sumptuary laws restrained the scandalous luxuries of the rich. He proposed rewards, to all such as had many children, and took the most prudent methods of recopling the city: which had been exhausted in the late commotions.

Having thus restored prosperity once more to Rome, he again found himself under a necessity of going into Spain, to oppose an army, which had been raised there under the two sons of Pompey, and also Labienus his former general. He proceeded in this expedition with his usual celerity, and arrived in Spain before the enemy thought him yet departed from Rome. Cneius Pompey, and Sextus, Pompey's sons, profiting by their unhappy father's example, resolved as much as possible to protract the war; so that the first operations of the two armies were spent in sieges and fruitless attempts to surprise each other. However, Cæsar, after taking many ci-

ties from the enemy, and pursuing his adversary with unwearied perseverance, at last compelled him to come to a battle upon the plain of Munda. Pompey drew up his men by break of day, upon the declivity of a hill, with great exactness and order. Cæsar drew up likewise in the plains below, and, after advancing a little way from his trenches, he ordered his men to make a halt, expecting the enemy to come down from the hill. This delay made Cæsar's soldiers begin to murmur, while Pompey's, with full vigour, poured down upon them, and a dreadful conflict ensued. The first shock was so dreadful that Cæsar's men, who had been hitherto used to conquer, now began to waver. Cæsar was never in so great danger as now: he threw himself several times into the very thickest of the battle. « What, » cried he, « are you going to give up to a parcel of boys, your general, who is grown grey in fighting at your head? » Upon this, his tenth legion exerted themselves with more than usual bravery; and a party of horse being detached by Labienus from the camp in pursuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæsar cried aloud that they were fleeing. This cry instantly spread itself through both armies, exciting the one as much as it depressed the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion pressed forward, and a total rout soon ensued. Thirty thousand men were killed on Cneius Pompey's side, and among them Labienus, whom Cæsar ordered to be buried with the funeral honours of a general officer. Cneius Pompey escaped with a few horsemen to the seaside;

but, finding his passage intercepted by Cæsar's lieutenant, he was obliged to seek for a retreat in an obscure cavern. He was quickly discovered by some of Cæsar's troops, who presently cut off his head, and brought it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus, however, concealed himself so well, that he escaped all pursuit; and afterward, from his piracies, became noted and formidable to the people of Rome.

Cæsar, by this last blow, subdued all his avowed enemies; and the rest of his life was employed for the advantage of the state. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings; he rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, sending colonies to both cities; he undertook to level several mountains in Italy; to drain the Pontine marshes near Rome; and he designed to cut through the Isthmus of Peloponnesus. Thus, with a mind that could never remain inactive, he pondered mighty projects and schemes, beyond the limits of the longest life; but the greatest of all was his intended expedition against the Parthians, by which he designed to revenge the death of Crassus, who, having penetrated too far into their country, was overthrown, taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a punishment for his former avarice. Thence Cæsar intended to pass through Hyrcania, and enter Scythia along the banks of the Caspian Sea; then to open a way through the immeasurable forests of Germany into Gaul, and so to return to Rome. These were the aims of ambition. But the

jealousy of a few individuals put an end to them all.

Having been made perpetual Dictator, and receiving from the senate accumulated honours, it began to be rumoured, that he intended to make himself king. In fact, he was possessed of the power; but the people, who had an aversion to the name, could not bear his assuming the title. Whether he really designed to assume that empty honour, must for ever remain a secret; but certain it is, that the unsuspecting openness of his conduct created something like confidence in the innocence of his intentions. When informed by those about him of the jealousies of many, who envied his power, he was heard to say, that he had rather die once by treason, than live continually in the apprehension of it. When advised by some to beware of Brutus, in whom he had for some time reposed the greatest confidence, he opened his breast, all scarred with wounds, saying, « Can you think Brutus cares for such poor pillage as this? » and, being one night at supper, as his friends disputed among themselves what death were easiest, he replied, « That which is most sudden, and least foreseen. » But to convince the world how little he apprehended from his enemies, he disbanded his Spanish guards, and this facilitated the enterprise against his life.

A deep conspiracy was now laid against him, composed of no less than sixty senators. They were still the more formidable, as the generality of them were of his own party; and, having been raised above other citizens, felt more strongly the weight

of a single superior. At the head of this conspiracy were Brutus, whose life Cæsar had spared after the battle of Pharsalia; and Cassius, who was pardoned soon after; both prætors for the present year. Brutus made it his chief glory to have been descended from that Brutus, who first gave liberty to Rome. The passion for freedom seemed to have been transmitted to him with the blood of his ancestors. But though he detested tyranny, yet could he not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the most signal benefits.

The conspirators, to give a colour of justice to their proceedings, put off the execution of their design to the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was to be offered the crown. The augurs had foretold, that this day would be fatal to him. The night preceding, he heard his wife Calphurnia lamenting in her sleep. Being awakened, she confessed to him, that she dreamed of his being assassinated in her arms. These omens, in some measure, began to change his intention of going to the senate; but one of the conspirators coming in, prevailed upon him to keep his resolution, telling him of the reproach that would attend his staying at home till his wife should have lucky dreams, and of the preparations that were made for his appearance. As he went along to the senate, a slave, who hastened to him with information of the conspiracy, attempted to come near him, but was prevented by the crowd. Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, who had discovered the whole plot, delivered him a me-

memorial, containing the heads of his information, but Cæsar gave it, with other papers, to one of his secretaries, without reading, as was usual in matters of this nature. Being at length entered the senate-house, where the conspirators were prepared to receive him, he met one Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger, to whom he said, smiling, « Well, Spurina, the ides of March are come. » « Yes, » replied the augur, « but they are not yet gone. » No sooner had he taken his place, than the conspirators approached him, under pretence of saluting him : Cimber, who was one of them, in a suppliant posture, pretended to sue for his brother's pardon, who had been banished by Cæsar's order. The conspirators seconded him with great earnestness ; and Cimber, seeming to sue with still greater submission, took hold of the bottom of his robe ; holding him so as to prevent his rising. This was the signal agreed on : when Casca, who was behind, instantly stabbed him in the shoulder. Cæsar sprung round, and, with the steel of his tablet, wounded him in the arm. The conspirators were all alarmed : when, being inclosed around, he received a second stab, from an unseen hand, in the breast ; while Cassius wounded him in the face. He still defended himself with great vigour, rushing among them, and throwing down such as opposed him, till he saw Brutus among the conspirators, who, coming up, struck his dagger into his thigh. Cæsar from that moment thought no more of defending himself, but, looking upon Brutus, cried



out, « *Et tu, Brute!* » « and you, too, my son ! » Then covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with decency, he sunk down at the base of Pompey's statue ; after having received three and twenty wounds, from those whom he vainly supposed he had disarmed by his benefits.

Cæsar was killed in his fifty-sixth year — U. C. 710.— and about fourteen years after he began the conquest of the world. If we examine his history, we shall be equally at a loss whether most to admire his great abilities or his wonderful fortune. To pretend to say, that from the beginning he planned the subjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well known penetration, as a thousand obstacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to surmount. No man, therefore, of his sagacity, would have begun a scheme in which the chances of succeeding were so many against him : it is most probable, that, like all very successful men, he made the best of every occurrence ; and his ambition rising with his good fortune, from at first being contented with humbler aims he at last began to think of governing the world, when he found scarce any obstacle to oppose his designs. Such is the disposition of man, whose cravings after power are then most insatiable, when he enjoys the greatest share.

As soon as the conspirators had dispatched Cæsar, they retired to the Capitol, and guarded its accesses by a body of gladiators, which Brutus had in pay.

The friends of the late dictator now began to

find, that this was the time for coming into greater power than before, and for satisfying their ambition under the veil of promoting justice. Of this number was Antony. He was a man of moderate abilities, of excessive vices, ambitious of power only because it gave his pleasures a wider riot to range in it; but skilled in war, to which he had been trained from his youth. He was consul for this year, and resolved with Lepidus, who was fond of commotions, like himself, to seize this opportunity of gaining that power, which Cæsar had died for usurping. Lepidus, therefore, took possession of the forum with a band of soldiers at his devotion; and Antony, being consul, was permitted to command them. Their first step was to possess themselves of Cæsar's papers and money, and the next to convene the senate. Never had this august assembly been convened upon so delicate an occasion, as to determine, whether Cæsar had been a legal magistrate or a tyrannical usurper; and whether those who killed him merited rewards or punishments. Many of them had received all their promotions from Cæsar, and had acquired large fortunes in consequence of his appointments: to vote him a usurper, therefore, would be to endanger their property; and yet, to vote him innocent, might endanger the state. In this dilemma, they seemed willing to reconcile extremes: they approved all the acts of Cæsar, and yet granted a general pardon to the conspirators.

This decree was very far from giving Antony satisfaction, as it granted security to a number of men

who were the avowed enemies of tyranny, and who would be foremost in opposing his schemes of restoring absolute power. As, therefore, the senate had ratified all Cæsar's acts without distinction, he formed a scheme upon this of making him rule when dead as imperiously as he had done when living. Being possessed of Cæsar's books of accounts, he so far gained upon his secretary as to make him insert whatever he thought proper. By these means great sums of money, which Cæsar would never have bestowed, were there distributed among the people: and every man, who had any seditious designs against the government, was there sure to find a gratuity. Things being in this situation, Antony demanded of the senate, that Cæsar's funeral obsequies should be performed. This they could not decently forbid, as they never had declared him a tyrant: accordingly the body was brought forth into the *forum* with the utmost solemnity; and Antony, who charged himself with these last duties of Friendship, began his operations upon the passions of the people by the prevailing motives of private interest. He first read to them Cæsar's will, in which he had made Octavius, his sister's grandson, his heir, permitting him to take the name of Cæsar, with three parts of his private fortune; which, in case of his death, Brutus was to have inherited. To the Roman people were left the gardens which he possessed on the other side of the Tiber; and to every citizen, three hundred sesterces. Unfolding Cæsar's bloody robe, pierced by the daggers of the conspirators, he ob-

served to them the number of stabs in it. He also displayed a waxen image, representing the body of Cæsar, all covered with wounds. The people could no longer contain their indignation, but unanimously cried out for revenge, and ran, with flaming brands from the pile, to set fire to the houses of the conspirators. In this rage of resentment, meeting with one Cinna, whom they mistook for another of the same name that was in the conspiracy, they tore him in pieces. The conspirators themselves, however, being well guarded, repulsed this multitude with no great trouble; but, perceiving the general rage of the people, they thought it safest to retire from the city.

In the mean time, Antony, who had excited this flame, resolved to make the most of the occasion. But an obstacle to his ambition seemed to arise from a quarter in which he least expected it, namely, from Octavius afterward called Augustus, who was the grand nephew and adopted son of Cæsar. A third competitor also for power appeared in Lepidus, a man of some authority and great riches. At first the ambition of these three seemed to threaten fatal consequences to each other; but, uniting in the common cause, they resolved to revenge the death of Cæsar, and, dividing their power, formed what is called the *second* triumvirate.

The meeting of these three usurpers of their country's freedom was upon a little island of the river Panarus. Their mutual suspicions were the cause of their meeting in a place where they had no fear of

treachery; for, even in their union, they could not divest themselves of mutual diffidence. Lepidus first entered; and, finding all things safe, made the signal for the other two to approach. At their first meeting, instead of embracing, they searched each other; when Augustus began the conference by thanking Antony for putting Decimus Brutus to death; who, being abandoned by his army, had been taken, as he was endeavouring to escape into Macedonia, and was beheaded by Antony's soldiers. They then entered upon the business that lay before them, without any retrospection of the past. Their conference lasted forthree days, and, in this period, they fixed a division of government, and determined upon the fate of thousands. The result of which was, that the supreme authority should be lodged in their hands, under the title of the Triumvirate, for the space of five years; that Antony should have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Augustus, Africa and the Mediterranean Islands. As for Italy, and the eastern provinces, they were to remain in common, until their general enemy should be subdued; and, among other articles of union, it was agreed, that all their enemies should be destroyed, of which each presented a list. In these were comprised, not only the enemies, but the friends of the triumvirate, since the partizans of the one were often found among the opposers of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague; Antony permitted the proscription of his uncle Lucius; and Augustus delivered up the great Cicero,

who was assassinated shortly after by Antony's command.

In the mean time, Brutus and Cassius, the principal of the conspirators against Cæsar, being compelled to quit Rome, went into Greece, where they persuaded the Roman students at Athens to declare in the cause of freedom: then parting, the former raised a powerful army in Macedonia, while the latter went into Syria, where he soon became master of twelve legions, and reduced his opponent Dolabella to such straits, as to force him to lay violent hands on himself. Both armies joining at Smyrna, the sight of such a formidable force began to revive the declining spirits of the party, and to reunite the two generals still more closely, between whom there had been, some time before, a slight misunderstanding. In short, having quitted Italy like distressed exiles, without having one soldier or one town that owned their command, they now found themselves at the head of a flourishing army, furnished with all the necessaries for carrying on the war, and in a condition to support a contest, where the empire of the world depended on the event.

It was in this flourishing state of their affairs, that the conspirators had formed a resolution of going against Cleopatra, who had made great preparations to assist their opponents. However, they were diverted from this purpose, by an information that Augustus and Antony were now upon their march, with forty legions, to oppose them. Brutus, therefore, moved to have their army pass over into Greece and

Macedonia, and there meet the enemy; but Cassius so far prevailed, as to have the Rhodians and Lycians first reduced, who had refused their usual contributions. This expedition was immediately put into execution, and extraordinary contributions were raised by that means, the Rhodians having scarcely any thing left them but their lives. The Lycians suffered still more severely; for, having shut themselves up in their capital town Xanthus, they defended the place against Brutus with so much fury, that neither his arts nor entreaties could prevail upon them to surrender. At length, the town being set on fire, by their attempting to burn the works of the Romans, Brutus, instead of laying hold of this opportunity to storm the place, made every effort to preserve it, entreating his soldiers to try all means of extinguishing the fire: but the desperate frenzy of the citizens was not to be mollified. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy, for the efforts which were made to save them, they resolved to perish in the flames. Instead of extinguishing, therefore, they did all in their power to augment the fire, by throwing in wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel. Nothing could exceed the distress of Brutus, upon seeing the townsmen thus resolutely bent on destroying themselves. He rode about the fortifications, stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, and conjuring them to have pity on themselves and their city; but, insensible to his exhortations, they rushed into the flames with desperate obstinacy, and the whole soon became a heap of un-

distinguishable ruin. At this horrid spectacle Brutus melted into tears, offering a reward to every soldier, who should bring him a Lycian alive. The number of those, whom it was possible to save from their own fury, amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty. — Some writers, however, affirm that the town was burned to the ground, and the inhabitants destroyed by the command of Brutus; and that those who surrendered at discretion, he deprived of all their public and private property.

Brutus and Cassius met once more at Sardis, where they resolved to have a private conference together. They shut themselves up, in the first convenient house, with express orders to their servants to give no admission. Brutus began, by reprimanding Cassius for having disposed of offices, which should ever be the reward of merit, and for having overtaxed the tributary states. Cassius retorted the imputation of avarice with the more bitterness, as he knew the charge to be groundless. The debate grew warm; till, from loud speaking, they burst into tears. Their friends, who were standing at the door, overheard the increasing vehemence of their voices, and began to dread for the consequences; till Favonius, who valued himself upon a cynical boldness, that knew no restraint, entering the room with a jest, calmed their mutual animosity. Cassius was ready enough to forego his anger, being a man of great abilities, but of an uneven disposition; not averse to pleasure in private company; and, upon the whole, of morals not quite sincere. But the con-



duct of Brutus was perfectly steady. An even gentleness, a noble elevation of sentiment, a strength of mind over which neither vice nor pleasure could have any influence, an inflexible firmness in the defence of justice, composed the character of this great man. After their conference, night coming on, Cassius invited Brutus and his friends to an entertainment, where freedom and cheerfulness, for a while, took place of political anxiety, and softened the severity of wisdom. Upon retiring home it was, that Brutus thought he saw a spectre in his tent. He naturally slept but little, and was capable of bearing want of rest by long habit and great sobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the day-time, as was common in Rome; and only gave so much of the night to rest, as could barely renew the natural functions. But now, oppressed with various cares, he allowed but a short time after his nightly repast; and, waking about midnight, generally read or studied till morning. It was in the dead of the night, says Plutarch, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed; reading by a lamp that was just expiring. On a sudden, he thought he heard a noise, as if somebody was approaching, and, looking towards the door, he perceived it open. A gigantic figure, of frightful aspect, stood before him, and continued to gaze upon him with silent severity. Brutus is reported to have asked, « Art thou a dæmon or a mortal? And why comest thou to me? » « Brutus, answered the phantom, I am thy evil genius — thou shalt see me a-

« gain at Philippi. » « Well, then, » replied Brutus, without being discomposed, « we shall meet again. » Upon this the phantom was supposed to vanish; when Brutus, calling to his servants, asked if they had seen any thing; to which they answering in the negative, he again resumed his studies. Struck with so strange an occurrence, he mentioned it to Cassius, who rightly ascribed it to the effect of an imagination too much exercised by vigilance and anxiety. Brutus appeared satisfied with this solution of his late terrors; and, as Antony and Augustus were now advanced into Macedonia, he and his colleague passed over into Thrace, and drew near to Philippi, where the forces of the triumviri were posted to receive them.

Mankind now began to regard the approaching army with terror and suspense. The empire of the world depended upon the fate of a battle. From victory, on the one side, they had to expect freedom; but, on the other, a sovereign with absolute command. Brutus was the only man, who looked upon these great events with calmness and tranquillity. Indifferent as to success, and satisfied with having done his duty, he said to one of his friends, « If I am victorious, I shall restore liberty to my country : if not, by dying, I shall myself be delivered from slavery. My condition is fixed; I run no hazards. » The republican army consisted of eighty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The army of the triumviri amounted to a hundred thousand foot, and thirteen thousand horse. Thus complete on

both sides, they met, and encamped near each other upon the plains of Philippi. Near the town were two little hills, about a mile distant from each other : upon these hills Brutus and Cassius fixed their camps, and kept a firm communication, which mutually defended each other. In this commodious situation, they could act as they thought proper, and give battle just when it was thought to their advantage to engage. Behind was the sea, which furnished them with all kinds of provision; and, at twelve miles' distance, the island of Thasos, which served them for a general magazine. The triumviri, on the other hand, were encamped on the plain below, and were obliged to bring provision from fifteen leagues' distance; so that their scheme and interest was to forward a battle as soon as possible. This they offered several times, drawing out their men from their camp, and provoking the enemy to engage. On the contrary, the enemy contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, without descending to the plain. This resolution of postponing the battle was the chance that the republican army had for victory; and Cassius, sensible of his advantage, resolved to harass rather than engage the enemy. But Brutus, who began to suspect the fidelity of some of his officers, used all his influence to persuade Cassius to change his resolution. « I am impatient, » said he, « to put an end to the miseries of mankind; and in this I hope to succeed, whether I conquer or fall. » His wishes were soon gratified; for Antony's soldiers having, with great

labour, made a road through the marsh which lay to the left of Cassius's camp, by that means opened a communication with the island of Thasos, which lay behind him. Both armies, in attempting to possess themselves of this road, resolved, at length, to come to a general engagement. This, however, was contrary to the advice of Cassius, who found himself forced, as Pompey had formerly been, to expose the liberty of Rome to the hazard of a battle. The ensuing morning the two generals gave the signal for engaging, and conferred together a little while before the battle began. Cassius desired to be informed how Brutus intended to act in case they should be unsuccessful. To this Brutus replied, « Formerly, « in my writings, I condemned the death of Cato ; « and maintained, that avoiding calamities by suicide is an insolent attempt against Heaven that « allotted them; but I have altered my opinion; I « have given up my life to my country; and, I think, « I have a right to my own way of ending it. I am « resolved, therefore, to change a miserable being « here for a better hereafter, if fortune turn against « me. » « My friend, » cried Cassius, embracing him, « now may we venture to face the enemy; for either « we shall be the conquerors, or we shall have no « cause to fear those that be so. » Augustus being sick, the forces of the triumviri were commanded by Antony alone, who began the engagement by a vigorous attack upon the lines of Cassius. Brutus, on the other side, made a dreadful irruption on the army of Augustus; and drove forward with so much

intrepidity, that he broke them upon the very first charge. Upon this he penetrated as far as the camp and, slaughtering those who were left for its defence, his troops immediately began to plunder. In the mean time, however, the lines of Cassius were forced, and his cavalry put to flight. There was no effort that this unfortunate general did not exert, to make his infantry stand; stopping those that fled, and himself seizing the colours to rally them. But the valour of an individual was insufficient to inspire a timorous army. At length, despairing of success, Cassius retired to his tent, and killed himself. Brutus was soon informed of the defeat of Cassius, and, in a little time after, of his death; scarce able to restrain the excess of his grief for a man, whom he lamented as the last of the Romans.

Brutus now became sole general. He assembled the dispersed troops of Cassius, and animated them with fresh hopes of victory. As they had lost their all from the plundering of their camp, he promised two thousand denarii to each man, to make them amends. Once more inspired with new ardour, they admired the liberality of their general, and with loud shouts proclaimed his intrepidity. Still, however, he wanted confidence to face the adversary, who offered him battle the ensuing day. His aim was to starve the enemy, who were in extreme want of provision, from their fleet having been lately defeated. But his single opinion was overruled by the army, who now grew every day more confident of their strength, and more arrogant to their general.

At last, therefore, after a respite of twenty days, he was obliged to comply with their solicitations to try the fate of a battle. Both armies were drawn out, and they remained a long while opposite to each other without offering to engage. It is said, that he himself had lost much of his ardour by having again seen, or fancied that he saw, the spectre, in the night preceding. However, he encouraged his men, and gave the signal for battle. As usual, he had the advantage where he commanded in person; bearing down the enemy at the head of his infantry, and, supported by his cavalry, making great slaughter. But the forces which had belonged to Cassius communicating their terror to the rest, the whole army at last gave way. Brutus, surrounded by the most valiant of his officers, fought long with amazing valour. The son of Cato, and the brother of Cassius, fell fighting by his side. At last, he was obliged to yield to necessity, and fled. In the mean time, the two triumviri, assured of victory, expressly ordered that the general should by no means be suffered to escape. Thus the whole body of the enemy being intent on the person of Brutus alone, his capture seemed inevitable. In this deplorable exigence, Lucilius, his friend, resolved, by his own death, to effect his general's delivery. Upon perceiving a body of Thracian horse closely pursuing Brutus, and just upon the point of taking him, he boldly threw himself in their way, telling them that *he* was Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with so great a prize, immediately dispatched some of their companions,

\*\*

with the news of their success, to the army. Upon this, the ardour of their pursuit abating, Antony marched out to meet his prisoner either to hasten his death, or insult his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of officers and soldiers, some silently deploring the fate of so virtuous a man, others reproaching that mean desire of life, for which he consented to undergo captivity. Antony now seeing the Thracians approach, began to prepare himself for the interview; but the faithful Lucilius advancing with a cheerful air—"It is *not* Brutus," said he, "that is taken: fortune has not yet had the power of committing so great an outrage upon a virtue. As for my life, it is well lost in preserving his honour; take it, for I have deceived you." Antony, struck with so much fidelity, pardoned him, loaded him with benefits, and honoured him with his friendship.

In the mean time, Brutus, with a small number of friends, passed over a rivulet, and, night coming on, sat down under a rock, which concealed him from the pursuit of the enemy. After taking breath, and casting his eyes to Heaven, he repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wish to the gods, "That a guilt should not pass in this life without punishment." To this he added another from the same poet: "O unhappy virtue! I have worshipped thee as a real good, but thou art a vain empty name, and the slave of fortune." He then called to mind, with great tenderness, those whom he had seen perish in battle. He sent out one Statilius to give him

information of those that remained; but Statilius never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horse. Brutus, judging rightly of his fate, now resolved to die likewise; and entreated those who stood round him to give him their last sad assistance; but they all refused so melancholy a service. He then retired aside with his friend Strato, requesting him to perform the last office of friendship. Upon Strato's refusal, he ordered one of his slaves to execute what he so ardently desired; but Strato crying out, « that it should never be said that Brutus, in his « last extremity, stood in need of a slave for want of « a friend, » turned aside his head, and presented the sword's point. Brutus threw himself upon it, and immediately expired.

From the moment of Brutus's death, the triumviri began to act as *Sovereigns*, and to divide the Roman dominions among them as their own by right of conquest. However, though there were apparently three who participated all power, yet, in fact, only two were actually possessed of it, since Lepidus was admitted at first merely to curb the mutual jealousy of Antony and Augustus, and was possessed neither of interest in the army, nor authority among the people. Their earliest care was to punish those whom they had formerly marked for vengeance. Hortensius, Drusus, and Quintilius Varus, all men of the first rank in the Commonwealth, either killed themselves or were slain. A senator and his son were ordered to cast lots for their lives; but both refused it; the father voluntarily gave himself up to the



executioner, and the son stabbed himself before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death : to which Augustus replied, « that he « would soon find a grave in the vultures that would « devour him. » But chiefly the people lamented to see the head of Brutus sent to Rome to be thrown at the foot of Cæsar's statue. His ashes, however, were sent to his wife Porcia, Cato's daughter, who, following the example of both her husband and father, killed herself. She swallowed burning coals. It is observed, that of all those who had a hand in the death of Cæsar, not one died a natural death.

The power of the triumviri being thus established upon the *ruin of the Commonwealth*, they now began to think of enjoying that homage, to which they had aspired. Antony went into Greece to receive the flattery of that refined people, and spent some time at Athens, conversing with the philosophers, and assisting at their disputes in person. Thence he passed over into Asia, where all the monarchs of the East, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay him their obedience; while the fairest princesses strove to gain his favour by the greatness of their presents or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner he proceeded from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a succession of sovereigns, exacting contributions, distributing favours, and giving away crowns with capricious insolence. He presented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Sisenes, in prejudice of Ariarathes, only because he found pleasure in the beauty of Glaphyra, the

mother of the former. He settled Herod in the kingdom of Judea, and supported him. But, among all the sovereigns of the East, who depended upon Antony, *Cleopatra*, the celebrated queen of Egypt, was the most distinguished.

It happened, that Serapion, her governor in the Isle of Cyprus, had formerly furnished some succours to Cassius and the conspirators; and it was thought proper; that he should answer for his conduct. Accordingly, having received orders from Antony to clear herself of the imputation of infidelity, she readily complied, equally conscious of the goodness of her cause, and the power of her beauty. She was now in her twenty-seventh year, and consequently had improved those allurements by art, which in earlier age are seldom attended to. Her address and wit were still farther heightened, and, though there were some women in Rome that were her equals in beauty, none could rival her in the powers of seducing conversation. Antony was now in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, when Cleopatra resolved to attend his court in person. She sailed down the river Cydnus to meet him, with the most sumptuous pageantry. Her galley was covered with gold, floating with sails of purple; the oars were silver; and they kept time to the sound of flutes and cymbals. She exhibited herself reclining on a couch spangled with stars of gold, and such other ornaments as poets and painters had usually ascribed to Venus. On each side were boys, like Cupids, fanning her by turns; while beautiful nymphs, dres-

sed like Nereids and Graces, were placed at proper distances around her. Upon the banks of the river were kept burning the most exquisite perfumes; while an infinite number of people gazed upon the exhibition with delight and admiration Antony soon became captivated with her beauty, and found himself unable to defend his heart against that passion, which proved the cause of his future misfortunes. When Cleopatra had thus secured her power, she set out on her return to Egypt. Antony, quitting every other object, presently flew after her; and there he continued in all that ease and softness to which his vicious heart was prone, and which that luxurious people were able to supply.

While he remained thus idle in Egypt, Augustus, who took upon him to lead back the veteran troops, and settle them in Italy, was assiduously employed in providing for their subsistence. *He had promised them lands at home, as a recompense for their past services; but they could not receive their new grants without turning out the former inhabitants.* In consequence of this, multitudes of women, with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence excited universal compassion, daily filled the temples and the streets with their distresses. Numbers of husbandmen and shepherds came to deprecate the conqueror's intention, or to obtain a habitation in some other part of the world. Among this number was Virgil, the poet, to whom mankind owe more obligations than to a thousand conquerors; who, in an humble manner, begged permission to

retain his patrimonial farm. Virgil obtained his request ; but the rest of his countrymen of Mantua and Cremona were turned out without mercy.

Italy and Rome now felt the most extreme miseries. The insolent soldiers plundered at will ; while Sextus Pompey , being master of the sea , cut off all foreign communication, and prevented the people's receiving their usual supplies of corn. To these mischiefs were added the commencement of another civil war. Fulvia, the wife of Antony , whom he had left behind in Rome , felt for some time all the rage of jealousy, and resolved to try every method of bringing back her husband from the arms of Cleopatra. She considered a breach with Augustus as the only probable means of rousing him from his lethargy; and, accordingly, with the assistance of Lucius, her brother-in-law , she began to sow the seeds of dissension. The pretext was, that Antony should have a share in the distribution of lands as well as Augustus. This produced negotiations between them, and Augustus offered to make the veterans themselves umpires in the dispute. Lucius refused to acquiesce; and , being at the head of more than six legions , mostly composed of such as were dispossessed , he resolved to compel Augustus to accept of whatever terms he should offer. Thus a new war was excited between Augustus and Antony ; or, at least , the generals of Antony assumed the sanction of his name. Augustus was victorious : Lucius was hemmed in between two armies, and constrained to retreat to Perusia, where he was closely besieged by the op-

posite party. He made many desperate sallies, and Fulvia did all in her power to relieve him, but without success. He was at last reduced to such extremity by famine, that he came out in person, and delivered himself up to the mercy of the conqueror. Augustus received him honourably, and generously pardoned him and all his followers.

Antony, having heard of his brother's overthrow, and of his wife being compelled to leave Italy, was resolved to oppose Augustus. He accordingly sailed, at the head of a considerable fleet, and had an interview with Fulvia at Athens. He much blamed her for occasioning the late disorders; testified the utmost contempt for her person, and, leaving her upon her death-bed, hastened into Italy to fight Augustus. They both met at Brundisium; and it was now thought that the flames of a civil war were going to blaze out once more. The forces of Antony were numerous, but mostly new raised: however he was assisted by Sextus Pompeius, who, in these oppositions of interest, was daily coming into power. Augustus was at the head of those veterans who had always been irresistible; but who seemed no way disposed to fight against Antony, their former general. A negotiation was therefore proposed; and a reconciliation was effected. All offences and affronts were mutually forgiven; and, to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Antony and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. A new division of the Roman empire was made between them: Augustus was to have the command of the West;

Antony of the East ; while Lepidus was obliged to content himself with the provinces in Africa. As for Sextus Pompeius , he was permitted to retain all the islands he had already possessed , together with Peloponnesus : he was also granted the privilege of demanding the consulship , though absent , and of discharging that office by a friend. It was likewise stipulated to leave the sea open , and to pay the people what corn was due out of Sicily. Thus a general peace was concluded to the great satisfaction of the people , who now expected an end to all their calamities.

The only obstacle to the ambition of Augustus was Antony , whom he resolved to remove , and for that purpose rendered his character at Rome as contemptible as he possibly could. In fact , Antony's conduct did not a little contribute to promote the endeavours of his ambitious partner. He had marched against the Parthians with a prodigious army , but was forced to return with the loss of the fourth part of his forces , and all his baggage. However , Antony seemed quite regardless of contempt : alive only to pleasure , and totally disregarding the business of the state , he spent his whole time in the company of Cleopatra , who studied every art to increase his passion , and vary his entertainments. Few women have been so much celebrated for the art of giving novelty to pleasure , and making trifles important. Still ingenious in filling up the languid pauses of sensual delight with some new strokes of refinement , she was at one time a Queen ; then a

Bacchantess; and sometimes a Huntress. Not contented in sharing with her all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony was resolved to enlarge his sphere of luxury, by granting her some of those kingdoms, which belonged to the Roman empire. He gave her all Phenicia, Celo-Syria, and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judea; gifts which he had no right to bestow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. This complication of vice and folly at last totally exasperated the Romans; and Augustus, willing to take the advantage of their resentment, took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, when he found the people sufficiently irritated against him, he resolved to send Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Antony, as if with a view of reclaiming her husband; but, in fact, to furnish a sufficient pretext for declaring war against him, as he knew she would be dismissed with contempt.

Antony was now at the city of Leucopolis, reveling with his insidious paramour, when he heard that Octavia was at Athens, upon her journey to visit him. This was very unwelcome news, as well to him as to Cleopatra; who, fearing the charms of her rival, endeavoured to convince Antony of the strength of her passion by her sighs, her looks, and well-feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which she seemed willing to hide; and entreated her to tell him the cause, which she was willing to suppress. These artifices, together with the ceaseless flattery and importunity of her creatures,

prevailed so much upon Antony's weakness, that he commanded Octavia to return home, without seeing her; and still more to exasperate the people of Rome, he resolved to repudiate her, and take Cleopatra as his wife. He accordingly assembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra. There he seated himself, dressed as Bacchus, while Cleopatra sat beside him, clothed in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occasion he declared her Queen of all the countries which he had already bestowed upon her, while he associated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar, as her partner in the government. To the two children which he himself had by her he gave the title of King of Kings, with very extensive dominions; and, to crown his absurdities, he next sent a minute account of his proceedings to the two consuls at Rome.

In the mean time, Augustus had a sufficient pretext for declaring war, and informed the senate of his intentions. However, he deferred the execution of his design for a while, being then employed in quelling an insurrection of the Illyrians. The following year was chiefly taken up in preparations against Antony, who, perceiving his design, remonstrated to the senate, that he had many causes of complaint against his colleague, who had seized upon Sicily without affording him a share; alleging, that he had also dispossessed Lepidus, and kept to



himself the province he had commanded ; and that he had divided all Italy among his own soldiers , leaving nothing to recompense those in Asia. To this complaint Augustus was contented to make a sarcastic answer , implying that it was absurd to complain of his distribution of a few trifling districts in Italy ; when , Antony having conquered Parthia , he might now reward his soldiers with cities and provinces. This sarcasm provoked him to send his army , without delay , into Europe , to meet Augustus , while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos , in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there , it was ridiculous enough to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleasure and for war. On one side , all the kings and princes from Egypt to the Euxine sea had orders to send him supplies of men , provision , and arms ; on the other side , the comedians , dancers , buffoons , and musicians , were ordered to attend him.

His delay at Samos , and afterward that at Athens , whither he carried Cleopatra to receive new honours , were extremely favourable to the arms of Augustus , who was , at first , scarcely in a disposition to oppose him , had he gone into Italy ; but he soon found time to put himself in a condition for carrying on the war ; and , shortly after , declared it against *him* in form. At length , both sides found themselves in readiness to begin , and their armies were suitable to the greatness of the empire they contended for. The one was followed by all the forces of the East ; the other drew after him all the strength of the West.

Antony's force composed a body of a hundred thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; while his fleet amounted to five hundred ships of war. Augustus mustered about eighty thousand foot, but equalled his adversary in the number of cavalry; his fleet was but half as numerous as Antony's; however, his ships were better built, and manned with better soldiers.

The great decisive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the gulf of Ambracia. Antony ranged his ships before the mouth of the gulf; and Augustus drew up his fleet in opposition. Neither general assumed any fixed station to command in, but went about from ship to ship, wherever his presence was necessary. In the mean time, the two land armies, on opposite sides of the gulf, were drawn up, only as spectators of the engagement; and encouraged the fleets, by their shouts, to engage. The battle began on both sides with great ardour; and after a manner not practised upon former occasions. The prows of their vessels were armed with brazen points; and with these they drove furiously against each other. They fought with great vigour, without advantage on either side, except from a small appearance of disorder in the centre of Antony's fleet. But, all on a sudden, Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was seen fleeing from the engagement with her sixty sail, struck, perhaps, with the terrors natural to her sex. But what increased the general amazement was, to behold Antony

\*\*

himself precipitately following, leaving his fleet at the mercy of the conquerors; while the army at land submitted, being abandoned by their general.

When Cleopatra fled, Antony pursued her in a five-oared galley; and, coming alongside of her ship, entered it without any desire of seeing her. She was in the stern, and he went to the prow, where he remained silent and melancholy. In this manner he continued three whole days, during which, either through indignation or shame, he neither saw nor spoke to Cleopatra. The queen's female attendants, however, reconciled them; and every thing went on as before. Still he had the consolation to suppose his army continued faithful to him; and accordingly dispatched orders to conduct it into Asia. But he was soon undeceived when he arrived in Africa, where he was informed of their submission to his rival. This so transported him with rage, that with difficulty he was prevented from killing himself. At length, at the entreaty of his friends, he returned to Alexandria. Cleopatra seemed to retain that fortitude in her misfortunes, which had utterly abandoned her admirer. Having amassed considerable riches, by means of confiscations and other acts of violence, she formed a very singular and unheard-of project. This was to convey her whole fleet over the Isthmus of Suez into the Red Sea, and thereby save herself, with all her treasures, in another region, beyond the reach of Rome. Some of her vessels were actually transported thither, pursuant to her orders; but the Arabians having burned them,

and Antony dissuading her from the design, she abandoned it for the more improbable scheme of defending Egypt against the conqueror. She omitted nothing in her power to put this in practice, and made all kinds of preparations for war; hoping, at least, by this means, to obtain better terms from Augustus. In fact, she had been more in love with Antony's good fortune than his person; and if she could have fallen upon any method of saving herself, though even at his expence, there is little doubt but she would have embraced it with gladness. She had still hopes from the power of her charms, though she was arrived almost at the age of forty; and was desirous of trying upon Augustus those arts, which had been already so successful. Thus, in three embassies, which were sent from Antony to Augustus in Asia, the queen had always her *secret agents*, charged with proposals in her name. Antony desired no more than that his life might be spared, and to have the liberty of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity. To these proposals Augustus made no reply. Cleopatra also sent him public proposals in favour of her children; but at the same time privately resigned him her *crown*, with all the ensigns of royalty. To the queen's *public proposal*, no answer was given; to her *private offer*, he replied, by giving her assurances of his favour, in case she would send away Antony, or put him to death. These private negotiations were not so concealed but they came to the knowledge of Antony, whose jealousy and rage every occurrence

now contributed to heighten. He built a small solitary house upon a mole in the sea, and shut himself up, a prey to all those passions that are the tormentors of unsuccessful tyranny. There he passed his time shunning all commerce with mankind, and professing to imitate Timon, the manhater. However, his furious jealousy drove him from this retreat into society; for hearing that Cleopatra had secret conferences with one Thyrsus, an emissary from Augustus, he seized upon him, ordered him to be cruelly scourged, and sent him back to his patron. At the same time he sent letters by him, importing, that Thyrsus had been chastised for insulting a man in misfortunes; but withal he gave Augustus permission to avenge himself, by scourging Hipparchus, Antony's freedman, in the same manner. The revenge, in this case, indeed, would have been highly pleasing to Antony, as Hipparchus had left him, to join the fortunes of his more successful rival.

Augustus advanced with another army before Pelusium, which, by its strong situation, might have retarded his progress for some time. But the governor of the city, either wanting courage to defend it, or previously instructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take possession; so that Augustus had now no obstacle in his way to Alexandria, whither he marched with all expedition. Antony, upon his arrival, sallied out to oppose him, fighting with desperation, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. This slight advantage once more revived his

declining hopes; and, being naturally vain, he re-entered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, all armed as he was, to the palace, and embracing Cleopatra, he presented her a soldier, who had distinguished himself in the engagement. The queen rewarded him very magnificently; presenting him with a headpiece and breast-plate of gold. With these, however, the soldier went off the next night to the other army; prudently resolving to secure his riches, by keeping on the strongest side. Antony, not able to bear this defection without fresh indignation, resolved to make a bold expiring effort by sea and land, previously offering to fight his adversary in single combat. Augustus too well knew the inequality of their situations, to comply with this forlorn proposal: he, therefore, coolly replied, « Antony has ways enow to die beside single combat.»

The day after, he posted the few troops he had remaining upon a rising ground near the city; whence he sent orders to his gallies to engage the enemy. There he waited to be a spectator of the combat: and, at first, he had the satisfaction to see them advance in good order; but his joy was soon turned into rage, when he beheld his ships only saluting *those of Augustus*, and both fleets uniting together, *and sailing back into the harbour*, and, at the same time, *his cavalry deserting him*. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry; but these were easily vanquished; and he himself compelled to return into the town. His fury was now ungovernable; crying out as he passed that he was betrayed by Cleopatra,

and delivered up to those who, for her sake alone, were his enemies. In these suspicions he was not deceived : for it was by secret orders from the queen, that the fleet had passed over to the enemy.

Cleopatra had, for a long while, dreaded the effects of Antony's jealousy : and had, some time before, prepared a method of obviating any sudden sallies it might produce. Near the temple of Isis she had erected a building, which was seemingly designed for a sepulchre. Hither she removed all her treasure and most valuable effects, covering them over with torches, faggots, and other combustible matter. This sepulchre she designed to answer a double purpose ; as well to screen her from the sudden resentment of Antony, as to make Augustus believe, that she would burn all her treasure, in case he refused proper terms of capitulation. Here, therefore, she retired from Antony's fury, shutting the fortified gates, and giving orders to have it reported that she was dead. This news soon reached Antony ; and it recalled all his former love and tenderness. A wretch, subject to the gust of every passion, and to each of them in the extreme, he now lamented her death with the same violence, that he had just before seemed to desire it. « Miserable man ! » cried he to himself, « what is there now worth *living for* ; « since all that could sooth or soften my cares is departed ? O Cleopatra, our separation does not so much afflict me, as the disgrace I suffer, in permitting a woman to instruct me in the ways of « dying. » He now called to him one of his freedmen,

named Eros, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, whenever fortune should drive him to his last resource. Eros was commanded to perform his promise. Eros, his faithful follower, drew his sword, as if going instantly to strike the blow: when, turning his face, he plunged it into his own bosom, and dropped at his master's feet. Antony, for a while, hung over his faithful servant, charmed with his fidelity. Then, snatching up the sword, he stabbed himself in the belly, and fell backwards upon a couch. The wound was mortal, yet, the blood stopping, he recovered his spirits; and earnestly conjured those, who were come into the room, to put an end to his life; but they all fled, seized with fright and horror. He continued in this miserable condition till he was informed, by one of the queen's secretaries, that his mistress was still alive; and begged that he would suffer himself to be transported to the monument where she was. He was accordingly brought to the sepulchre; but Cleopatra, attended by two women only, durst by no means permit the gate to be opened; but, from the window, threw down cords, with which, with great difficulty, they drew him up. Antony, bathed in his blood, held out his hands to Cleopatra, and faintly endeavoured to raise himself from the couch on which he had been laid. The queen gave way to sorrow, tore her clothes, beat her breast, and kissing the wound of which he was dying, called him her husband, her lord, her emperor. Antony entreated her to moderate the transports of her grief, and to preserve her life, if



she could be able to do it with honour. « As for me, « lament not my misfortunes, » he said, « but congratulate me upon the happiness which I have enjoyed; I have lived the greatest and most powerful « of men; and, though I fall, my fate is not ignominious; *a Roman myself, I am at last by a Roman « overcome.* » He spoke and expired.

Proculeius now made his appearance by command of Augustus, who had been informed of Antony's desperate conduct. He was sent to try all means of getting Cleopatra into his power. Augustus had a double motive for his solicitude on this occasion: one was to prevent her destroying the treasures she had taken with her into the tomb; the other to preserve her person, as an ornament to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and rejected any conference with Proculeius, except through the gate, which was well secured. At length, having procured a ladder, he, with two of Augustus's soldiers, entered by the same window through which Antony had been drawn up. Cleopatra, perceiving what happened, drew a poniard that hung at her girdle, to stab herself, but Proculeius forced it from her. Augustus, pleased to find her in his power, sent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace; and to watch her with the utmost circumspection. He was ordered to use her, in every respect, with that deference and submission which were due to her rank, and to do every thing in his power to render her captivity tolerable.

Though kings and generals made interest for An-

tony's body, in order to pay the last honours to it, this consolation was reserved for Cleopatra. She alone was permitted to have the honour of granting Antony the rites of burial : she buried him with her own hands, and was furnished with every thing becoming to his dignity to receive, or her love to offer. Yet still she languished under her new confinement. Her many losses, her frantic sorrow, the blows, which she had given her bosom, produced a fever which she wished to increase. She resolved, by abstaining from nourishment, to starve herself, to death, under the pretence of a regimen necessary for the disorder. But Augustus, made acquainted with the real motive by her physicians, began to threaten her with regard to her children, in case she should perish. The fear of being the cause of their death was a battery she could not resist. Cleopatra, therefore, allowed herself to be treated as was thought proper, and she recovered.

In the mean time, Augustus made his entry into Alexandria; taking care to mitigate the fears of the inhabitants, by conversing familiarly with Areus, a philosopher, and a native of the place. The citizens, however, trembled at his approach. And when he placed himself upon the tribunal, they prostrated themselves, with their faces to the ground before him, like criminals who waited the sentence for their execution. Augustus presently ordered them to rise, telling them that three motives induced him to pardon them : his respect for Alexander, who was the founder of their city; his admiration of its beau-

ty; and his friendship for Areus their fellow-citizen. Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occasion : Antony's eldest son Antyllus, and Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar, both betrayed into his hands by their respective tutors; who themselves suffered for their perfidy shortly after. As for the rest of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleness, leaving them to the care of those who were entrusted with their education, and giving orders to provide them with every thing suitable to their birth. Cleopatra recovered, and Augustus visited her in person : she received him lying on a couch; but, upon his entering the apartment, she rose up, habited in a loose robe, and prostrated herself before him. Her misfortunes had given an air of severity to her features; her hair was dishevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes swollen with weeping. Yet still her natural beauty gleamed through the distresses that overspread her : the grace of her motion, and the alluring softness of her look, still bore testimony to the former power of her charms. Augustus raised her, seated her, and placed himself beside her. Cleopatra had been prepared for this interview, and made use of every art to propitiate the conqueror. She tried apologies, *entreaties*, and *allurements*, to obtain his favour, and soften his resentment. She began by attempting to justify her conduct; but when her skill failed against manifest proofs, she turned her defence into supplications. She reminded him of Cæsar's humanity to those in

distress; she read some of his letters to her, full of tenderness; and expatiated upon the intimacy that had subsisted between them. « But of what service, » cried she, « are now all his benefits to me! Why did I not die with him! Yet still he lives, methinks I see him still before me, he revives in you. » Augustus, who was no stranger to this method of address, remained firm against all attacks; answering with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts a different turn. She now addressed his avarice, presenting him with an inventory of her treasure and jewels. This gave occasion to a very singular scene that may serve to show that the little decorums of breeding were then by no means attended to as in modern times. One of her stewards having alleged, that the inventory was defective, and that she had secreted part of her effects, she fell into the most extravagant passion, started from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him repeated blows on the face. Augustus smiled at her indignation, led her to the couch, and desired her to be pacified. To this she replied, that it was insufferable to be insulted in the presence of one, whom she so highly esteemed. « And, admitting, » cried she, « that I have secreted a few ornaments, am I to blame, when they are reserved, not for myself, but for Livia and Octavia, whom I hope to make my intercessors with you? » The apology, which intimated a desire of living, was not disagreeable to Augustus, who politely assured her, that she was at liberty to keep whatever she had reserved, and that

in every thing she should be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then took leave, and departed; imagining he had reconciled her to life, and to the indignity of being shown in the intended triumph, which he was preparing for his return to Rome; but in this he was deceived. Cleopatra, all this time, had kept a correspondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth, in the camp of Augustus; who, from compassion, or perhaps from stronger motives, was interested in her misfortunes. By him she was secretly informed, that Augustus determined to send her, within three days, together with her children, to Rome, to grace his triumphant entry. She, at length, therefore, determined upon dying, threw herself upon Antony's coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her protestations not to survive him. Having bathed, and ordered a sumptuous banquet, she attired herself in the most splendid manner. She feasted, as usual; and soon after ordered all, except her two women, to leave the apartment. She had contrived to have an asp secretly conveyed to her in a basket of fruit. And then wrote to Augustus, to inform him of her fatal purpose, desiring to be buried in the same tomb with Antony. Augustus, upon receiving the letter, instantly dispatched messengers in hopes to stop her intentions, but they arrived too late. Upon entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon her couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Near her, Iras, one of her faithful attendants, was stretched likewise at the feet of her mistress; and Charmion, the other, half dying, was

settling the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. « Alas! » cried one of the messengers, « is this well done, Charmion? » « Yes, » replied she, « it *is* well done; « such a death becomes a glorious queen, descended « from a race of glorious ancestors. » Pronouncing these words, she dropped, and expired with her much-loved mistress.

.....

## CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS,  
TO THE DEATH OF DOMITIAN, THE LAST OF THE  
TWELVE CÆSARS.

**B**y the death of Antony, Augustus became master of the Roman Empire. He returned to Rome in triumph; where, by feasts, and magnificent shows, he began to obliterate the impressions of his former cruelty; and thenceforward resolved to secure, by his clemency, a throne, the foundations of which were laid in blood. He was now at the head of the most extensive empire, that mankind had ever beheld. The former spirit of the Romans, and those characteristic marks that distinguished them from others, were now totally lost. The city was inhabited by a concourse from all the countries of the world; and being consequently divested of all just patriotic principles, perhaps a monarchy was the best form of government that could be found to unite its members. However, it is very remarkable, that during these long contentions among themselves, and these horrid devastations by civil war, the state was daily

\*\*

growing more formidable and powerful, and completed the destruction of all the kings who presumed to oppose it.

The first care of Augustus was to assure himself of the friends of Antony; to which end he publicly reported, that he had burned all Antony's letters and papers without reading them, convinced that, while any thought themselves suspected, they would be fearful of even offering him their friendship.

He had gained the kingdom by his army, but he resolved to govern it by the senate. This body, though greatly fallen from its ancient splendour, he knew to be the best constituted, and most capable of wisdom and justice. To the senate, therefore, he gave the chief power in the administration of his government, while he himself kept the people and the army steadfast to him by donatives, and acts of favour. By these means, the odium of justice fell upon the senate, and the popularity of pardon was solely his own. Thus restoring splendour to the senate, and discountenancing corruption, he pretended to reserve to himself a very moderate share of authority to which none could object; namely, an absolute power to compel all ranks of the state to do their duty. This, in fact, was reserving absolute dominion in his own hands; but the misguided people began to look upon his moderation with astonishment: they considered themselves as restored to their former freedom, except in the capacity of promoting sedition; and the senate supposed their power re-established in all things but their tenden-

cy to injustice. It was even said, that the Romans, by such a government, lost nothing of the happiness that liberty could produce; and were exempt from all the misfortunes it could occasion. This observation might have some truth under such a monarch as Augustus now appeared to be; but they were afterwards taught to change their sentiments under his successors, when they found themselves afflicted with all the punishments that tyranny could inflict, or sedition make necessary.

After having established this admirable order, Augustus found himself agitated by different passions; and considered, a long time, whether he should keep the empire, or restore the people to their ancient liberty. But he adopted the advice of Mæcenas, which was to continue in power; and he was afterwards swayed by him on every occasion. By the advice of that minister, he became gentle, affable, and humane: he encouraged men of learning, and gave them much of his time and his friendship. These, in their turn, relieved his most anxious hours, and circulated his praise through the empire.

Thus, having given peace and happiness to the empire, and being convinced of the attachment of all the orders of the state to his person, he resolved upon impressing the people with an idea of his magnanimity. This was nothing less than making a show of resigning his authority. To this end, having previously instructed his creatures in the senate how to act, he addressed them in a studied speech importing the difficulty of governing so extensive an em-



pire; a task which, he said, none but the immortal gods were equal to. He modestly urged his own inability, though impelled by every motive to undertake it; and then, with a degree of seeming generosity, freely gave up all that power which his arms had gained, and which the senate had confirmed. This power he repeatedly offered to restore, giving them to understand that the true spirit of the Romans was not lost in him. This speech operated upon the senate variously, as they were more or less in the secret. Many believed the sincerity of his conduct as an act of heroism unequalled by any thing that had hitherto appeared; others, though ignorant of his motives, distrusted his designs. Some there were, who, having greatly suffered during the popular commotions, were fearful of their being renewed; but the majority, who were properly instructed by his ministers, frequently attempted to interrupt him while speaking, and received his proposal with pretended indignation. These unanimously besought him not to resign the administration; and, upon his continuing to decline their request, they in a manner compelled him to comply. However, that his person might be in greater security, they immediately decreed, that the pay of his guard should be doubled. On the other hand, that he might seem to make concessions on his side, he permitted the senate to govern the weak internal provinces; while the most powerful provinces, and those that required the greatest armies for their defence, were taken entirely under his own command. Over these

he assumed the government for ten years only, leaving the people still in hopes of regaining their ancient freedom; at the same time, however, laying his measures so well, that his government was renewed every ten years to his death.

This show of resignation only served to confirm him in the empire, and in the hearts of the people. New honours were heaped upon him. He was now first called Augustus ( a name I have hitherto used as that by which he is best known in history ). A laurel was ordered to be planted at his gates. That house was called the palace, wherever he made his abode. He was confirmed in the title of father of his country, and his person declared sacred and inviolable. In short, flattery seemed on the rack to find out new modes of pleasing him; but, though he despised the arts of the senate, he permitted their homage, well knowing that, among mankind, titles produce a respect, which inforce authority.

Upon entering into his tenth consulship, the senate, by oath, approved all his acts, and set him wholly above the power of the laws. They, some time after, offered to swear not only to all the laws he had made, but such as he should make for the future. It was customary with fathers, upon their deathbeds, to command their children to carry oblations to the Capitol, with an inscription, that, at the day of their death, they left Augustus in health. It was determined, that no man should be put to death on such days as the emperor entered the city. Upon a dearth of provision, the people entreated

him to accept of the dictatorship; but he would by no means accept of the title of dictator, which had been abolished by law.

An accumulation of titles and employments did not in the least diminish his assiduity in filling the duties of each. Several very wholesome edicts were passed by his command, tending to suppress corruption in the senate, and licentiousness in the people. He ordained, that none should exhibit a show of gladiators without an order from the senate, and then no oftener than twice a year; nor with more than a hundred and twenty at a time. This law was extremely necessary at so corrupt a period of the empire; when armies of these unfortunate men were brought at once upon the stage, and compelled to fight, often till half of them were slain. It had been usual also with the knights, and women of the first distinction, to exhibit themselves as dancers upon the theatre: he ordered that not only these, but their children and grandchildren, should be restrained from such exercises for the future. He fined many that had refused to marry at a certain age; and rewarded such as had many children. He ordained, that virgins should not be married till twelve years of age. He permitted any person to kill an adulterer, if taken in the fact. He enacted, that the senators should be held in great reverence; adding to their dignity, what he had taken from their power. He made a law, that no man should have the freedom of the city without a previous examination into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and li-

mits to the manumission of slaves; and was himself very strict in the observance of them. With regard to dramatic performers, of whom he was very fond, he severely examined their morals, not allowing licentiousness in their lives, nor indecency in their actions. Though he encouraged the athletic exercises, he would not permit women to be present at them; holding it unbecoming the modesty of the sex to be spectators of these sports, which were performed by naked men. In order to prevent bribery in suing for offices, he took considerable sums of money from the candidates, by way of pledge; and, if any indirect practices were proved against them they were obliged to forfeit all. Slaves had been hitherto disallowed to confess any thing against their own masters; but he abolished the practice, and first sold the slave to another; which altering the property, his examination became free. These, and other laws, all tending to extirpate vice, or deter from crimes, gave the manners of the people another complexion; and the rough character of the Roman was now softened into that of the refined citizen.

Indeed his own example a good deal tended to humanize his fellow-citizens; for, being placed above all equality, he had nothing to fear from condescension. He was familiar with all, and suffered himself to be reprimanded with the most patient humility. Though, by the single authority of his station, he was capable of condemning or acquitting whomever he thought proper, yet he gave the laws their proper course; and even pleaded for persons he desi-

red to protect. When the advocate for Primus desired to know, with an insolent air, what brought Augustus into court, the emperor submissively replied, « the Commonwealth. » When one of his veteran soldiers entreated his protection, Augustus bid him apply to an advocate. « Ah ! » replied the soldier, « it was not by proxy that I served you at the battle of Actium. » Augustus was so pleased, that he pleaded his cause, and gained it for him. One day a petition was presented to him with so much awe, as to displease him. « Friend, » cried he, « you seem as if you were offering something to an elephant, rather than to a man : be bolder. » Once, as he was sitting in judgment, Mæcenus perceiving that he was inclined to be severe, and not being able to get to him through the crowd, he threw a written paper into his lap. « Arise executioner. » Augustus read it, without displeasure, and immediately rising, pardoned those, whom he was disposed to condemn. But what most of all showed a total alteration in his disposition was his treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandson. This nobleman had entered into conspiracy against him : Augustus sent for the rest, reprimanded them, and dismissed them. But resolving to mortify Cinna by the greatness of his generosity : « I have twice, » said he, « given you your life ; as an enemy and as a conspirator ; I now give you the consulship ; let us, therefore, be friends for the future ; let us only contend in showing, whether my confidence, or your fidelity shall be victorious. »

In the practice of such virtues he passed a long reign. In fact, he seemed the first Roman, who aimed at gaining a character by the arts of peace; and who obtained the affections of the soldiers, without any military talents of his own. Nevertheless, the Roman arms, under his lieutenants, were crowned with success.

But he had uneasiness of a domestic nature, that distressed him: he had married Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, by the consent of her husband, when she was six months in her pregnancy. She was an imperious woman, and, conscious of being beloved, controlled him at her pleasure. She had two sons: Tiberius, the elder, and Drusus, who was born three months after she had been married to Augustus, and who was thought to be his own son. The eldest of these, Tiberius, whom he afterwards adopted, and who succeeded him in the empire, was a good general, but of a suspicious and obstinate temper; and gave him but little quiet at home. He was, at last, obliged to go into exile for five years to the island of Rhodes, where he chiefly spent his time in a retired manner, conversing with the Greeks, and addicting himself to literature; of which, however, he made afterwards but a bad use. But his greatest affliction was the conduct of his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, his former wife. Julia, whom he married to his general Agrippa, and afterwards to Tiberius, set no bounds to her lewdness. Not contented with enjoying her pleasures, she seemed also earnest in publishing the

infamy of her prostitutions. She was arrived at that excess of wantonness, that she had her nocturnal appointments in the most public parts of the city; the very court, where her father presided, was not exempt from her debaucheries. Augustus, at first, had thoughts of putting her to death; but, after consideration, he banished her to Pandataria, forbidding her the use of wine, and all inflammatory delicacies. He ordered that no person should come near her without his permission; and sent her mother Scribonia along with her to bear her company. When any one attempted to intercede for Julia, his answer was, « that fire and water should « sooner unite, than he with her. » Augustus, having in a great measure survived his contemporaries, at length, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, began to think of retiring from the fatigues of state; and, in some measure, of constituting Tiberius his successor. He desired the senate to salute him no longer at the palace; nor to take it amiss, if, for the future, he could not converse with them as formerly. From that time, Tiberius was joined in the government of the provinces with him, — U. C. 762. — and invested with nearly the same authority. However, Augustus could not entirely forsake the administration, which habit had mixed with his satisfactions; and he still continued a watchful guardian, and showed himself, to the last, a lover of his people. Finding it now, therefore, very inconvenient to come to the senate, by reason of his age, he desired to have twenty privy-counsellors assign-

ned him for a year; and it was decreed, that whatever measures were resolved upon by them, together with the consuls, they should have entirely the force of a law. He seemed apprehensive of his approaching end, for he made his will, and delivered it to the vestal virgins. He then solemnized the census or numbering the people, whom he found to amount to four millions one hundred and thirty-seven thousand; which shows Rome to be equal to four of the greatest cities of modern times. While these ceremonies were performing by a mighty concourse of people in the Campus Martius, it is said that an eagle flew round the emperor several times, and directing its flight to a neighbouring temple, perched over the name of Agrippa; which by the augurs was conceived to portend the death of the emperor. Shortly after, having accompanied Tiberius in his march to Illyria, he was there taken ill. Returning thence, he sent for Tiberius, and his most intimate friends. A few hours before his death, he ordered a looking-glass to be brought, and his hair to be adjusted with more than usual care. He then addressed his friends, whom he beheld surrounding his bed, and desired to know, whether he had properly played his part in life: to which being answered in the affirmative, he cried out with his last breath, "Then give me your applause." Thus, at the age of seventy-six, after reigning forty-one years, he expired in the arms of his Livia; bidding her remember their marriage and their farewell.

The death of the emperor caused inexpressible



grief throughout the whole Roman empire. It was by some supposed that his wife Livia had some hand in hastening it; willing to procure the succession more speedily for her son. However this was, she took care, for a time, to keep it concealed, having guarded all the passages to the palace; sometimes giving out that he was recovered, and then pretending a relapse. At length, having settled the succession to her mind, she published the emperor's death, and at the same time the adoption of Tiberius to the empire. The emperor's funeral was performed with magnificence. The senators being in their places, Tiberius, on whom the care devolved, began a consolatory oration. After this, his will was read, in the senate-house, wherein he made Tiberius and Livia his heirs. He was studious of serving his country to the very last, and the sorrow of the people seemed equal to his assiduity. It was decreed that all the women should mourn for him a whole year. Temples were erected to him; divine honours were allowed him; and one Numerius Atticus, a senator, willing to convert the adulation of the times to his own benefit, received a large sum of money, for swearing that he saw him ascending into Heaven; so that no doubt remained among the people concerning his divinity.

Such were the honours paid to Augustus, whose power began in the slaughter, and terminated in the happiness of his subjects; so that it was said of him, «that it had been good for mankind if he had never been born, or if he had never died.» It is

possible, that the cruelties exercised in his triumvirate were suggested by his colleagues. In the case of Cæsar's death, he might think that revenge was virtue. Certain it is, that severities were necessary to restore public tranquillity; for, until the Roman spirit should be eradicated, no monarchy could be secure. He indulged his subjects in the appearance of a republic, while he made them really happy in the effects of a most absolute monarchy, but guided by the most consummate prudence. In this last, he seemed to have excelled most monarchs; and, indeed, could we separate Octavius from Augustus, he was one of the most faultless princes in history. About this time, our Saviour was born in Judea.

Tiberius was fifty six years old when he took upon him the government of the Roman empire. — U. C. 762.—A. D. 10.—He had lived in a state of profound dissimulation, under Augustus, and was not yet hardy enough to show himself in his real character. In the beginning of his reign nothing appeared but prudence, generosity, and clemency. But the successes of his nephew Germanicus, son of his late brother Drusus, over the Germans, first brought his natural disposition to light, and discovered the malignity of his mind without disguise. He was hardly settled on his throne, when he received intelligence, that the legions in Pannonia, hearing of the death of Augustus, and desirous of novelty, had revolted; but these were soon quieted, and Pescennius, their leader, slain. A commotion in

\*\*

Germany was attended with much more important consequences. The legions in that part of the empire were conducted by Germanicus, a youth of most admirable qualities, and who had been at the late emperor's request adopted, in order to succeed to the empire. The legions under his command had taken the opportunity of his absence to revolt, and now began to affirm, that the whole Roman empire was in their power, and that its principal grandeur was owing to the success of their arms; when Germanicus returned, therefore, they unanimously resolved to choose him emperor. This general was the darling of the soldiers, and almost idolized, so that he might with very little difficulty have raised himself to the highest dignity of the state, but his duty prevailed over his ambition; he rejected their offers with the utmost indignation, and used the most indefatigable endeavours to quell the sedition. This he effected, though with extreme hazard, by cutting off many of the principal revolters, and then by leading the troops against the Germans, who were considered as the common enemies of the empire.

Tiberius was as much pleased with the loyalty of Germanicus, as he was distressed at his superior popularity; his success also, immediately after, against the Germans, still more excited the emperor's envy and private disgust. He overthrew the enemy in several battles, subduing many wild and extensive countries. These victories, however, only served to inflame the emperor's jealousy: every

virtue in the general now became a new cause of offence. This dislike began to appear by Tiberius's making use of every pretence to draw Germanicus from the legions; but he was obliged to postpone his purpose on account of a domestic insurrection made in Italy, by one Clemens, whom he put to death, by a private execution, in a secret apartment of the palace.

Having thus got rid of his domestic enemy, he turned his thoughts on the most specious means of bringing home Germanicus, from the legions in Germany. He began by procuring him a triumph for his victory in Germany; and then writing to him to return, in order to enjoy these honours, which the senate had decreed; adding, that he had reaped enough of glory in a country where he had been sent nine times, and had been every time victorious; concluding, that the number of triumphs was sufficient; and that the most signal vengeance that could be inflicted on them was their being permitted to continue their own intestine divisions. Germanicus was met many miles out of the city by an infinite multitude, who received him with marks of adoration rather than respect: the gracefulness of his person; his triumphal chariot, in which were carried his five children, and the recovered standards of the army of Varus, threw the people into a phrensy of joy and admiration.

Germanicus was now appointed to a new dignity. He departed from Rome to an eastern expedition, carrying with him his wife Agrippina, and his chil-

dren. But Tiberius, to restrain his power, had sent Cneius Piso governor into Syria. This Piso was a person of a furious and headstrong temper; and, in every respect, fit to execute those fatal purposes for which he was designed. His instructions were to oppose Germanicus upon every occasion; to excite hatred against him; and even to procure his death, if an opportunity should offer. He accordingly took every opportunity of abusing Germanicus; and taxed him with diminishing the Roman glory by his peculiar protection to that people who called themselves Athenians. Germanicus disregarded his invectives; being more employed in executing the business of his commission, than in counteracting the private designs of Piso. Piso, however, and his wife Plancina, who is recorded as a woman of an implacable and cruel disposition, continued to defame him. Germanicus opposed only patience and condescension to all their invectives; and, with that gentleness which was peculiar to him, repaid their resentments by courtesy. He was not ignorant of their motives; and was rather willing to evade than oppose their enmity. He therefore took a voyage into Egypt, under a pretence of viewing the celebrated antiquities of that country, but, in reality, to avoid the machinations of Piso, and those of his wife, which were still more dangerous. Upon his return he fell sick; and whether from a mind previously alarmed, or from more apparent marks of treachery, he sent to let Piso know, that he broke of all further connexions. Growing daily worse, his

death appeared to be inevitable. Finding his end approaching, he addressed his friends, who stood round his bed, to the following effect: « Had my death been natural, I might have reason to complain of being thus snatched away from all the endearments of life, at so early an age; but my complaints are aggravated, in falling the victim of Piso and Plancina's treachery. Let the emperor therefore, I conjure you, know the manner of my death, and the tortures I suffer. Those who loved me, when living, those even who envied my fortune, will feel some regret, when they hear of a soldier, who had so often escaped the rage of the enemy, falling a sacrifice to the treachery of a woman. Plead then my cause before the people; you will be heard with pity; and if my murderers should pretend to have acted by command, they will either receive no credit or no pardon. » As he spoke these words, he stretched forth his hand, which his weeping friends tenderly pressing, most earnestly vowed, that they would lose their lives rather than their revenge. The dying prince then turning to his wife, conjured her by his memory, and all the bonds of nuptial love, to submit to the necessity of the times, and to evade the resentment of her more powerful enemies, by not opposing it. Nothing could exceed the distress of the whole empire, upon hearing of the death of Germanicus. But the people of Rome seemed to put no bounds to it. In this universal confusion, Piso seemed marked for destruction. He and his wife stood charged

with the death of Germanicus, by giving him a slow poison. Indeed, even the emperor himself, with his mother Livia, incurred a share of the general suspicion. This was soon after greatly increased by the arrival of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, a woman of invincible courage, and in high esteem for her virtue. She appeared, bearing the urn containing the ashes of her husband, and attended by all her children to the tomb of Augustus. When she approached the city, she was met by the senate, and people of Rome, both with acclamation and sorrow. The veteran soldiers, who had served under Germanicus, gave the sincerest testimonies of their concern. The multitude, while the ashes were depositing, regarded the ceremony in profound silence; but presently broke out into loud lamentations, crying out, the *Commonwealth* was now no more.

Tiberius permitted the accusation of Piso, who yet was supposed to be merely the instrument of his own vengeance. This general was accused, before the senate, of the death of Germanicus, and of other crimes.

His trial, which had been drawn out to a great length, he cut short, by putting an end to his life in his own house. His wife Plancina, who was universally believed to be most culpable, escaped punishment by the interest of Livia.

Tiberius, having now no object of jealousy to keep him in awe, began to pull off the mask, and appear more in his natural character than before.

In the beginning of his cruelties, he took into his confidence Sejanus, a Roman knight, who found out the method of gaining his affection, by the most refined degree of dissimulation, and was an overmatch for his master in his own arts. It is not well known, whether he was the adviser of all the cruelties that ensued; but certain it is that from the beginning of his ministry, Tiberius seemed to become more fatally suspicious.

Sejanus began by using all his address to persuade Tiberius to retire to some agreeable retreat, remote from Rome: from this he expected many advantages, since there could be no access to the emperor but through him. The emperor, either prevailed upon by his persuasions, or pursuing the natural turn of his temper, left Rome, and went into Campania, under pretence of dedicating temples to Jupiter and Augustus. Still growing weary of places, where mankind might follow him with their complaints and distresses, he withdrew himself into that most delightful island of Caprea. Buried in this retreat, he gave himself up to abandoned pleasures, regardless of the miseries of his subjects. From the time of his retreat he became more cruel, and Sejanus ever increased his distrusts. Secret spies and informers were placed in all parts of the city, who converted the most harmless actions into subjects of offence. In consequence of this, Nero and Drusus, the children of Germanicus, were declared enemies to the state, and afterwards starved to death in prison, while Agrippina, their mother, was sent into



banishment. Sabinus, Asinius Gallus, and Syriacus, were, upon slight pretences, condemned and executed. In this manner Sejanus proceeded, removing all who stood between him and the empire, and every day increasing in confidence with Tiberius, and in power with the senate. The number of his statues exceeded even those of the emperor: people swore by his fortune, in the same manner as they would have done had he been upon the throne; and he was more dreaded than even the tyrant who actually enjoyed the empire. But the rapidity of his rise seemed only preparatory to the greatness of his downfall. All we know of his first disgrace with the emperor is, that Satirius Secundus was the man who had the boldness to accuse him of treason; and Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, seconded the accusation. The senate, who had long been jealous of his power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took this opportunity of going beyond the orders of Tiberius: instead of sentencing him to imprisonment, they directed his execution. While he was conducting to his fate, the people loaded him with insult and execration; pursued him with sarcastic reproaches; and threw down his statues. He himself was strangled by the executioner.

His death only lighted up the emperor's rage for farther executions. Plancina, the wife of Piso, and others, were executed for being attached to Sejanus. He began to grow weary of single executions, and gave orders, that all the accused should be put to death together without farther examination. The

whole city was filled with slaughter and mourning. When one Carnilius killed himself to avoid the torture, « Ah, » cried Tiberius, « how has that man « been able to escape me ! » — When a prisoner earnestly entreated, that he would not defer his death, « Know, » said the tyrant, « I am not sufficiently your friend to shorten your torments. »

In this manner he lived, odious to the world, and troublesome to himself; an enemy to the lives of others, a tormentor of his own. At length, in the twenty-second year of his reign, he began to feel the approaches of his dissolution, and that all his appetites totally forsook him. He now, therefore, found it was time to think of a successor, and fixed upon Caligula : willing, perhaps, by the enormity of Caligula's conduct, with which he was well acquainted, to cover the memory of his own.

Still, however, he seemed willing to avoid his end; and strove, by change of place, to put off the inquietude of his own reflexions. He left his favourite island, and went upon the continent; and at last fixed at the promontory of Misenum. It was there that he fell into faintings, which all believed to be fatal. Caligula, supposing him actually dead, caused himself to be acknowledged by the prætorian soldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartment amidst the applauses of the multitude; when all of a sudden he was informed that the emperor was likely to recover. This unexpected account filled the whole court with terror and alarm; every one, who had before been earnest in testify-

ing their joy, now reassumed their pretended sorrow, and forsook the new emperor, through a feigned solicitude for the fate of the old. Caligula seemed thunderstruck : he preserved a gloomy silence, expecting nothing but death, instead of the empire, at which he had aspired. Marco, however, who was hardened in crimes, ordered that the dying emperor should be dispatched, by smothering him with pillows, or, as some will have it, by poison. Thus, Tiberius died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, — U. C. 780. — A. D. 37. — after reigning twenty-two years.

It was in the eighteenth year of this emperor's reign, that Christ was crucified ; as if the universal depravity of mankind wanted no less a sacrifice than this to reclaim them. Pilate sent to Tiberius an account of Christ's passion, resurrection, and miracles : the emperor made a report of the whole to the senate, desiring that Christ might be accounted a god by the Romans. But the senate, displeased that the proposal had not come first from themselves, refused to allow of his apotheosis ; alleging an ancient law, which gave them the superintendence in all matters of religion. They even went so far as to command, by an edict, that all Christians should leave the city ; but Tiberius, by another edict, threatened death to such as should accuse them ; by which means they continued unmolested during the rest of his reign.

The enormities of Caligula were concealed in the beginning of his reign. In less than eight months,

every appearance of moderation and clemency vanished ; while furious passions , unexampled avarice , and capricious cruelty , began to take their turn in his mind. Pride, impiety, lust, avarice, all in the extreme, were every moment brought forward.

Caligula's pride first appeared in his assuming to himself the title of ruler ; which was usually granted only to kings. He would also have taken the crown and diadem, had he not been advised, that he was already superior to all the monarchs of the world. Not long after, he assumed divine honours, and gave himself the names of such divinities as he thought most agreeable to his nature. For this purpose, he caused the heads of the statues of Jupiter and some other gods to be struck off, and his own to be put in their places. He frequently seated himself between Castor and Pollux, and ordered that all, who came to this temple to worship, should pay their adorations only to himself. However, such was the extravagant inconstancy of this unaccountable idiot, that he changed his divinity as often as he changed his clothes ; being at one time a male deity, at another a female ; sometimes Jupiter or Mars ; and not unfrequently Venus or Diana. He even built and dedicated a temple to his own divinity, in which his statue of gold was every day dressed in similar robes to those which he himself wore, and was worshipped by crowds of adorers. His priests were numerous ; the sacrifices made to him were of the most exquisite delicacies that could be procured ; and the dignity of the priesthood was sought by

the most opulent men of the city. However, he admitted his wife and his horse to that honour; and, to give a finishing stroke to his absurdities, he became a priest to himself. His method of assuming the manners of a deity was not less ridiculous: he often went out at full moon, and courted it in the style of a lover. He employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter, crying out, with a speech of Homer, « Do you conquer me or I will conquer you. » He frequently pretended to converse in whispers with the statue of Jupiter, and usually seemed angry at its replies, threatening to send it packing into Greece. Sometimes, however, he would assume a better temper, and seemed contented that Jupiter and he should dwell together in amity.

Of all his vices, prodigality was the most remarkable, and that which, in some measure, gave rise to the rest. The luxuries of former emperors were simplicity itself, when compared to those which he practised. He contrived new ways of bathing, when the richest oils and most precious perfumes were exhausted with the utmost profusion. His luxuries of the table were of immense value, and even jewels, as we are told, were dissolved in sauce. He, sometimes, had services of pure gold presented before his guests, instead of meat, observing, that a man should be an economist or an emperor.

The manner in which he maintained his horse will give some idea of his domestic extravagance. He built a stable of marble, and a manger of ivory;

and whenever the animal, which he called Incitatus, was to run, he placed sentinels near its stable the night preceding, to prevent its slumbers from being broken. He appointed it a house, furniture, and kitchen, in order to treat all its visitors with proper respect. The emperor sometimes invited Incitatus to his own table, presented it with gilt oats, and wine in a golden cup. He would often swear, « by the safety of his horse : » and it is said, he would have appointed it to the consulship, had not his death prevented.

His impiety was but subordinate to his cruelties. He slew many of the senate, and afterwards cited them to appear, as if they had killed themselves. He cast great numbers of old and infirm men to wild beasts, to free the state from such unserviceable citizens. He usually fed his wild beasts with the bodies of those wretches whom he condemned, and every tenth day sent off numbers of them to be thus devoured : which he jocosely called, clearing his accounts. One of those, who was thus exposed, crying out, that he was innocent, Caligula ordered his tongue to be cut out, and him to be thrown into the amphitheatre as before. He took delight in killing men with slow tortures, that, as he expressed it, they might feel themselves dying; being always present at such executions, himself directing the duration of the punishment, and mitigating the tortures, merely to prolong them. In fact, he valued himself for no quality more than his unrelenting temper, and inflexible severity, when he pre-

sided at an execution. Upon one occasion, being incensed with the citizens, he wished that all the Roman people had but one neck, that he might dispatch them at one blow.

Such insupportable and capricious cruelties produced many secret conspiracies against him: these were for a while deferred, upon account of his intended expedition against the Germans and Britons. For this purpose he caused numerous levies to be made — U. C. 793 - A. D. 41. — and talked with so much resolution, that it was universally believed he would conquer all before him. His march perfectly indicated the inequality of his temper: sometimes it was so rapid, that the cohorts were obliged to leave their standards behind them; at other times it was so slow, that it more resembled a pompous procession than a military expedition. In this disposition, he would cause himself to be carried on eight men's shoulders, and ordered all the neighbouring cities to have their streets well swept and watered, to defend him from the dust. However, all these mighty preparations ended in nothing. Instead of conquering Britain he gave refuge to one of its banished princes; and this he described in his letter to the senate, as taking possession of the whole island. Instead of conquering Germany, he only led his army to the sea-shore in Batavia. There, disposing his engines and warlike machines with great solemnity, and drawing up his men in order of battle, he went on board his galley, with which, coasting along, he commanded his trumpets to sound, and

the signal to be given, as if for an engagement. His men, who had had previous orders, immediately fell to gathering the shells that lay upon the shore into their helmets, as the spoils of the conquered ocean, worthy of the palace and the Capitol. After this doughty expedition, calling his army together, like a general after victory, he harangued them in a pompous manner, and highly extolled their achievements; and then, distributing money among them, dismissed them with orders to be joyful: congratulating them upon their riches. And, that such exploits should not pass without a memorial, he ordered a lofty tower to be erected by the seaside.

Cassius Cherea, tribune of the Prætorian bands, was the person who at first freed the world from this tyrant. Beside the motives which he had in common with other men, he had received repeated insults from Caligula, who took all occasions of turning him into ridicule, and impeaching him of cowardice, merely because he happened to have an effeminate voice. Whenever Cherea came to demand the watch-word from the emperor, according to custom, he always gave him either Venus, Adonis, or some such, implying softness and effeminacy.

Cherea secretly imparted his designs to several senators and knights, whom he knew to have received personal injuries from Caligula. While these were deliberating upon the most certain and speedy method of destroying the tyrant, an unexpected incident gave new strength to the conspiracy. Pompeidius, a senator of distinction, having been accu-



sed before the emperor of having spoken of him with disrespect, the informer cited one Quintilia, an actress, to confirm the accusation. Quintilia, however, was possessed of a degree of fortitude not easily found, even in the other sex. She denied the fact with obstinacy; and being put to the torture, she bore the severest torments of the rack with unshaken constancy. But what was most remarkable in her resolution was, her being acquainted with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and, although Cherea was the person appointed to preside at her torture, she revealed nothing: on the contrary, when she was led to the rack, she trod upon the toe of one of the conspirators, intimating at once her knowledge of the confederacy, and her own resolution not to divulge it. Thus she suffered, until all her limbs were dislocated; and, in that deplorable state, was presented to the emperor, who ordered her a gratuity for what she had endured.

Cherea could no longer contain his indignation, at being thus made the instrument of the tyrant's cruelty. After several deliberations with the conspirators, it was at last resolved to attack him during the Palatine games, which lasted four days; and to strike the blow when his guards should not have the opportunity to defend him. The first three days of the games passed. Cherea began to apprehend, that deferring the completion of the conspiracy might be a means of divulging it: he even dreaded that the honour of killing the tyrant might fall to the lot of some other person, bolder than himself.

At last he resolved to defer the execution of his plot only to the day following, when Caligula should pass through a private gallery, to some baths, near the palace.

The last day of the games was more splendid than the rest; and Caligula seemed more sprightly and condescending than usual. He enjoyed amusement in seeing the people scramble for the fruits, and other rarities, by his order thrown among them; being no way apprehensive of the plot formed for his destruction. In the mean time, the conspiracy began to transpire; and, had he had any friends left, it could not have failed of being discovered. A senator, who was present, asking one of his acquaintance if he had heard any thing new, and the other replying in the negative, said, « You must know, « that this day will be represented the death of a « tyrant. » The other immediately understood him, but desired him to be cautious. The conspirators waited many hours with extreme anxiety; and Caligula seemed resolved to spend the whole day without any refreshment. So unexpected a delay exasperated Cherea; and, had he not been restrained, he would have suddenly perpetrated his design in the midst of all the people. At that instant, while he was hesitating, Asprenas, one of the conspirators, persuaded Caligula to go to the bath, and take some slight refreshment, that he might the better enjoy the rest of the entertainment. The emperor rising up, the conspirators used every precaution to keep off the throng, and to surround him

themselves under pretence of greater assiduity. Upon his entering into a little vaulted gallery that led to the bath, Cherea struck him to the ground with his dagger, crying out, « Tyrant, think upon « this. » The other conspirators closed in upon him; and, while the emperor was resisting and crying out that he was not yet dead, they dispatched him with thirty wounds.

• Such was the merited death of Caligula, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a short reign of not four years. It will be unnecessary to add any thing more to his character, than the words of Seneca; namely, « Nature seemed to have brought him « forth, to shew what was possible to be produced « from the greatest vice, supported by the greatest « authority. »

As soon as the death of Caligula was made public, it produced the greatest confusion—U.C. 794.—A. D. 42.—The conspirators, who only aimed at destroying a tyrant, without attending to a successor, had all sought safety, by retiring to private places. Some soldiers happening to run about the palace, discovered Claudius, Caligula's uncle, lurking in a secret place, where he had hid himself. Of this personage, who had hitherto been despised for his imbecility, they resolved to make an emperor; and accordingly they carried him upon their shoulders to the camp, where they proclaimed him, at a time he expected nothing but death.

Claudius was now fifty years old. The complicated diseases of his infancy had, in some measure,

affected all the faculties of his mind , as well as body. He seemed , in every part of life , incapable of conducting himself.

The commencement of his reign , however , as it was with all the bad emperors , gave the most promising hopes. It began by an act of oblivion for all former words and actions, and disannulled all the cruel edicts of Caligula. He shewed himself more moderate than his predecessors with regard to titles. and honours. He forbade all persons , upon severe penalties , to sacrifice to him , as they had done to Caligula. He was assiduous in hearing and examining complaints ; and frequently administered justice in person with great mildness. To his solicitude for the internal advantages of the state , he added that of a watchful guardianship over the provinces. He restored Judca to Herod Agrippa , which Caligula had taken from Herod Antipas , his uncle , the man who had put John the Baptist to death, and who was banished by order of the present emperor.

He even undertook to gratify the people by foreign conquest. The Britons , who had , for near a hundred years, been left in sole possession of their own island , began to seek the mediation of Rome , to quell their intestine commotions. The principal man who desired to subject his native country to the Roman dominion , was one Bericus, who persuaded the emperor to make a descent upon the island , magnifying the advantages that would attend the conquest of it. In pursuance of his advice , therefore , Plautius , the prætor , was ordered to go

into Gaul, and make preparations for this great expedition. At first, indeed, his soldiers seemed backward to embark, declaring that they were unwilling to make war beyond the limits of the world, for so they judged Britain to be. However, they were at last persuaded to go: and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelin, were several times overthrown.

These successes soon after induced Claudius to go into Britain in person — A. D. 46, — under pretence that the natives were still seditious, and had not delivered up some Roman fugitives, who had taken shelter among them. However, this expedition seemed rather calculated for show than service: the time he continued in Britain, which was in all but sixteen days, was more taken up in receiving homage, than extending his conquests. Great rejoicings were made upon his return to Rome; the senate decreed him a splendid triumph; triumphal arches were erected for his honour, and annual games instituted to commemorate his victories. In the mean time the war was vigorously prosecuted by Plantius, and his lieutenant Vespasian, who, according to Suetonius, fought thirty battles, and reduced a part of the island into the form of a Roman province. However, this war broke out afresh under the government of Ostorius — A. D. 51, — who succeeded Plantius. The Britons, either despising him for want of experience, or hoping to gain advantages over a person newly come to command, rose up in arms, and disclaimed the Roman

power. The Iceni, who inhabited Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdonshire; the Cangi, in Wiltshire and Somersetshire; and the Brigantes, in Yorkshire, etc.; made a powerful resistance, though they were at length overcome; but the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often seemed to claim a doubtful victory. He with great conduct, removed the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of the country, and for nine years kept the Romans in continual alarm.

Upon the approach of Ostorius, however, Caractacus, finding himself obliged to come to a decisive engagement, addressed his countrymen with calm resolution; telling them that this battle would either establish their liberty, or confirm their servitude; that they ought to remember the bravery of their ancestors, by whose valour they were delivered from taxes and tributes; and that this was the time to show themselves equal to their progenitors. But nothing, that undisciplined valour could perform, availed against the conduct of the Roman legions. After an obstinate fight, the Britons were entirely routed; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and he himself, seeking refuge from Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherously delivered up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome, nothing could exceed the curiosity of the people to behold a man, who had,

for so many years, braved the power of the empire. Caractacus testified no marks of base dejection. When he was led through the streets, and observed the splendour of every object around him: « Alas, » cried he, « how is it possible, that people « possessed of such magnificence at home could « think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in « Britain ? » When he was brought before the emperor, while the other prisoners sued for pity with the most abject lamentations, Caractacus stood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and though willing to accept of pardon, was not mean enough to sue for it. « If, » cried he, « I had yielded immediately, and without opposing you, neither would « my fortune have been remarkable, nor your glory « memorable : you could not have been victorious ; « and I had been forgotten. If, now, therefore, you « spare my life, I shall continue a perpetual example « of your clemency. » Claudius generously pardoned him ; and Ostorius was decreed a triumph.

In the beginning of his reign, Claudius gave the highest hopes of a happy continuance ; but he soon began to lessen his care for the public, and to commit to his favourites all the concerns of the empire. This prince, weak from his infancy, was little able, when called to govern, to act but under the direction of others. One of his chief instructors was his wife, Messalina ; whose name is become a common appellation for women of abandoned characters. By her was Claudius urged on to commit cruelties, which he considered only as wholesome severities, while her debaucheries became every day

more notorious, and exceeded what had ever been in Rome. For her crimes and enormities, however, she, together with her paramour Caius Silius, suffered that death they both had so justly deserved.

Claudius took for his second wife Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus, a woman of a cruel and ambitious spirit, whose whole aim being to procure the succession for Nero, her son, by a former marriage, treated Claudius with such haughtiness, that he was heard to declare, when heated with wine, that it was his fate to smart under the disorders of his wives, and to be their executioner. This expression sunk deep in her mind, and engaged all her faculties to prevent the blow. She, therefore, resolved not to defer a deed which she had meditated long before, which was, to poison him. She, for some time, debated within herself in what quantity she should administer the poison; as she feared that a dose too strong would discover the treachery, as one too weak would fail of its effect. At length, she determined upon a poison of singular efficacy, to destroy his intellects, and yet not suddenly to terminate his life. The poison was given among mushrooms, a dish the emperor was particularly fond of. Shortly after having eaten, he dropped down insensible; but this caused no alarm, as it was usual with him to eat till he had stupefied his faculties, and be obliged to be carried off to his bed from the table. However, his constitution seemed to overcome the effects of the potion; but Agrippina, resolving to make sure of him, directed a wretch of a physician, her creature, to introduce



a poisoned feather into his throat, under pretence of making him vomit, and thus to dispatch him.

Nero, though but seventeen years old, began his reign with the general approbation of mankind — U. C. 793. - A. D. 55. — He appeared just, liberal, and humane. When a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought him to be signed, he cried out with compassion, « *Would to Heaven that I had never learned to write!* »

But as he increased in years, his improvement in wickedness increased in proportion. The execution of his mother Agrippina was the first alarming instance he gave of his cruelty. After attempting to get her drowned at sea, he ordered her to be put to death in her palace: and, coming to gaze upon the dead body, was heard to say, that he had never thought his mother so handsome a woman.

The mounds of virtue being thus broken down, Nero gave a loose to his appetites, that were not only sordid, but inhuman. There was a sort of odd contrast in his disposition; for, while he practised cruelties sufficient to make the mind shudder with horror, he was fond of those amusing arts which soften and refine the heart. He was particularly addicted, even from childhood, to music, and not totally ignorant of poetry: chariot driving was his favourite pursuit; and all these he frequently exhibited in public.

Happy had it been for mankind, had he confined himself to these: and, contented with being contemptible, sought not to become formidable also. His cruelty exceeded all his other extravagancies.

He seemed even studious of finding out pleasures, as well as crimes against nature. A great part of the city of Rome was consumed by fire in his time, and to him most historians ascribe the conflagration. It is said, that he stood upon a high tower, during the continuance of the flames, enjoying the sight, and singing in a theatrical manner, to his harp, verses upon the burning of Troy. None were permitted to lend assistance towards extinguishing the flames; and several persons were seen setting fire to the houses, alleging that they had orders for so doing. However this be, the emperor used every art to throw the odium of so detestable an action from himself, and to fix it upon the Christians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the persecution raised against them upon this false accusation. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and, in that resemblance, devoured by dogs. Some were crucified, and others burned alive. « When the day was not « sufficient for their tortures, the flames, in which « they perished, » says Tacitus, « served to illumi-  
« nate the night; » while Nero, dressed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himself with a view of their tortures from his gardens, and entertained the people at one time with their sufferings, at another with the games of the Circus. In this persecution St. Paul was beheaded; and St. Peter was crucified, with his head downwards; a mode of death he chose as being more dishonourable than that of his divine Master.

A conspiracy formed against Nero, by Piso, a man of great power and integrity, which was prematurely discovered, opened a new train of suspicions that destroyed many of the principal families in Rome. The two most remarkable personages, who fell on this occasion, were Seneca the philosopher, and Lucan, the poet, who was his nephew. Nero, either having real testimony, or else hating him for his virtues, sent a tribune to Seneca, informing him, that he was suspected as an accomplice. The tribune found the philosopher at table with Paulina, his wife; and, informing him of his business, Seneca replied, without emotion, that his welfare depended upon no man; that he had never been accustomed to indulge the errors of the emperor, and would not do it now. When this answer was brought to Nero, he demanded whether Seneca seemed afraid to die; the tribune replying, that he *did not* appear in the least terrified, « Then go to him again, » cried the emperor, « and give him my orders to die. » Accordingly he sent a centurion to Seneca, signifying that it was the emperor's pleasure that he should die. Seneca seemed no way discomposed; and was not unmindful of his constancy. He endeavoured to console his wife, and exhort her to a life of persevering virtue. But she seemed resolved not to survive him, and pressed her request to die with him so earnestly, that Seneca, who had long looked upon death as a benefit, at last gave his consent; and the veins of both their arms were opened at the same time. As Seneca was old, and much enfeebled by the austerities of his life, the blood flowed but

slowly ; so that he caused the veins of his legs and thighs to be opened also. His pains were long and violent , but they were not capable of repressing his fortitude and his eloquence. He dictated a discourse to two secretaries , which was read with great avidity after his death , but which has since perished in the wreck of time. His agonies being now drawn out to a great length , he at last demanded poison from his physician ; but this also failed of its effect , his body being already exhausted , and incapable of exciting its operation. He was , from this , carried into a warm bath , which only served to prolong his end ; at length , therefore , he was put into a dry stove , the vapour of which quickly dispatched him. In the mean time , his wife Paulina , having fallen into a swoon with the loss of blood , had her arms bound up by her domestics , and by this means survived her husband for some years ; but by her conduct during the rest of her life , she seemed ever recollecting her affection and his example.

The death of Lucan was not less remarkable. After he had lost a great quantity of blood from the veins of his arms , perceiving his hands and legs already dead , while the vital parts still continued warm and vigorous , he called to mind the description , in his own poem of the Pharsalia , of a person dying in similar circumstances.—He expired while he was repeating that beautiful passage :

- . . . . . Nec , sicut vulnere sanguis
- Emicuit lentus : Ruptis cadit undique venis ,
- . . . . . Pars ultima trunci

« Tradidit in lentum vacuos vita libatus :  
 « At tunidus quâ pulmo jacet , quâ viscera fervent ,  
 « Hæserunt ibi fata diu : Luctataque multum  
 « Hæc cum parte , viri vix omnia membra tulerunt. »  
 No single wound the gaping rupture seems ,  
 Where trickling crimson wells in slender streams ;  
 But from an op'ning horrible and wide  
 A thousand vessels pour the bursting tide ;  
 Soon from the lower parts the spirits fled ,  
 And motionless th'exhausted limbs lay dead :  
 Not so the nobler regions , where the heart  
 And heaving lungs their vital powers exert :  
 There ling'ring late and long conflicting life  
 Rose against fate , and still maintain'd the strife :  
 Driv'n out at length , unwillingly and slow ,  
 She left her mortal house , and sought the shades below .

Rowe , B. iii , v. 945.

The death of C. Petronius , about this time , —  
 U. C. 817. — A. D. 66 , — is too remarkable to be  
 passed over in silence. This person , whom some  
 historians suppose to be the author of the piece en-  
 titled , « T. Petronii Arbitri Satyricon , » was an  
 Epicurean , both in principle and practice. In a court  
 like that of Nero , he was esteemed for his refine-  
 ments in luxury , and became the emperor's tutor  
 in this exquisite art. Accused of being privy to  
 Piso's conspiracy , he was committed to prison. Pe-  
 tronius , who could not endure the anxiety of sus-  
 pense , resolved upon putting himself to death , by  
 causing his veins to be opened and closed again ,  
 from time to time , with the utmost cheerfulness and  
 tranquillity. He conversed with his friends , not upon  
 maxims of philosophy , or grave subjects , but upon  
 such topics as had amused his gayest revels. He lis-  
 tened while they recited the lightest poems : and

by no action, no word, no circumstance, showed the perplexity of a dying person. Shortly after him, Numicius Thermus, Bareas Soranus, and Pœtus Thræsea were put to death. The valiant Corbulo, who had gained Nero so many victories over the Parthians, followed next. Nor did the emperess Popæa herself escape, whom he kicked when she was pregnant, by which she miscarried, and died. At length, human nature grew weary of bearing her persecutor; and the whole world seemed to rouse, as if by common consent, to rid the earth of a monster.

Sergius Galba, at that time governor of Spain, was remarkable for his wisdom in peace, and his courage in war; but as all talents under corrupt princes are dangerous, he for some years had seemed willing to court obscurity and an inactive life. Willing, however, to rid his country of this monster, he accepted the invitation of Vindex, to march with an army towards Rome. From the moment he declared against Nero, the tyrant considered himself as fallen. He received the account as he was at supper, and, instantly struck with terror, overturned the table with his foot, breaking two crystal vases of immense value. He fell into a swoon, and then tore his clothes, and struck his head, crying out, « that he was utterly undone. » He now called for the assistance of Locusta, a woman famous in the art of poisoning, to furnish him with the means of death; but being prevented in this, and the revolt becoming general, he went in person, from house to house; but the doors were shut against him. Being reduced to a state of desperation, he desired

that one of his favourite gladiators might dispatch him ; but even in this request not one would obey. « Alas , » cried he , « have I neither friend nor enemy ? » And then running desperately forth , seemed resolved to plunge headlong into the Tiber. But his courage failing him , he made a sudden stop , as if willing to recollect his reason ; and asked for some secret place , where he might reassume his courage , and meet death with becoming fortitude. In this distress , Phaon , one of his freedmen , offered him his country-house , about four miles distant , where he might for some time remain coucealed. Nero accepted the offer ; and , with his head covered , hiding his face with his handkerchief , he mounted on horseback , attended by four of his domestics , of whom the wretched Sporus was one. His journey , though short , was crowded with adventures. An earthquake gave him the first alarm. The lightning from Heaven next flashed in his face. Round him he heard nothing but confused noises from the camp , and the cries of the soldiers imprecating a thousand evils upon his head. A passenger , meeting him on the way , cried , « Those men are in pursuit of Nero. » Another asked him , if there was any news of Nero in the city. His horse taking fright at a dead body , that lay near the road , he dropped his handkerchief ; when a soldier addressing him by name , he quitted his horse , and , forsaking the highway , entered a thicket ; that led towards the back part of Phaon's house through which he crept , making the best of his way among the reeds and brambles , with which the place was overgrown.

During this interval the senate, finding the Prætorian guards had taken part with Galba, declared him emperor, and condemned Nero to die, *more majorum*; that is, according to the rigour of the ancient laws. When he was told of the resolution of the senate, he asked, what was meant by being punished according to the rigour of the ancient laws. To this it was answered, that the criminal was to be stripped naked, his head was to be fixed in a pillory, and in that posture he was to be scourged to death. Nero was so terrified at this, that he seized two poniards, which he had brought with him; but, examining their points, returned them to their sheaths, pretending that the fatal moment was not yet arrived. He then desired Sporus to begin the lamentations which were used at funerals; he next entreated that some one of his attendants would die, to give him courage by his example; and afterward began to reproach his own cowardice, crying out, « Does this become Nero? Is trifling thus well timed? No let me be courageous! » In fact, he had no time to spare; for the soldiers, who had been sent in pursuit of him, were just then approaching the house; when, upon hearing the sound of the horses' feet, he set a dagger to his throat, with which, by the assistance of Epaphroditus, his freedman and secretary, he gave himself a mortal wound. However, he was not yet dead, when one of the centurions entering the room, and pretending that he came to his relief, attempted to stop the blood with his cloak. But Nero, regarding him with a stern countenance, said, « It is now too late! Is this your



« fidelity? Upon which, with his eyes fixed, and frightfully staring, he expired, exhibiting, even after death, a ghastly spectacle of innoxious tyranny. He reigned thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days, and died in the thirty-second year of his age.

Galba was seventy-two years old when he was declared emperor, and was then in Spain with his legions — U. C. 820. — A. D. 62. — He soon found that his being raised to the throne was but an inlet to new inquietudes. He seemed to have three objects in view: to curb the insolence of the soldiers; to punish those vices which had risen to an enormous height in the last reign; and to replenish the exchequer, which had been drained by the prodigality of his predecessors. However, permitting himself to be governed by favourites, he at one time showed himself severe and frugal; at another, remiss and prodigal; condemning some illustrious persons, without any hearing; and pardoning others though guilty. In consequence of this seditions were kindled, and factions promoted.

Galba was sensible, that, beside his age, he was less respected for want of an heir. He resolved, herefore, to adopt a person, whose virtues might deserve such advancement, and protect his declining age from danger. His favorites resolved on giving him an heir of their own choosing; so that there arose a great contention among them upon this occasion. Otho made warm application for himself, alleging the great services he had done the emperor, as being the first man of note who came to

his assistance, when he had declared against Nero. However, Galba being fully resolved to consult the public good alone, rejected his suit; and, on a day appointed, ordered Piso Lucinianus to attend him. The character given by historians of Piso is, that he was every way worthy of the honour designed him. Taking this youth by the hand, Galba adopted him to succeed in the empire, giving him the most wholesome lessons for guiding his future conduct. Piso's conduct showed, that he was highly deserving this distinction: in all his deportment there appeared such modesty, firmness, and equality of mind, as bespoke him rather capable of discharging, than ambitious of obtaining his present dignity. But the army and the senate did not seem equally disinterested upon this occasion: they had been so long used to bribery and corruption, that they could now bear no emperor, who was not in a capacity of satisfying their avarice. The adoption, therefore, of Piso was coldly received; for his virtues were no recommendation in a nation of universal depravity.

Otho, who had long been a favourite of Galba, and hoped to be adopted a successor in the empire, finding himself disappointed, stimulated by the immense load of debt which he had contracted by his riotous way of living, resolved upon obtaining the empire by force, since he could not do it by peaceable succession. Having corrupted the fidelity of the soldiers, he stole secretly from the emperor, while he was sacrificing; and assembling the sol-

diers, in a short speech, urged the cruelties and the avarice of Galba. Finding his invectives received with universal shouts by the army, he entirely threw off the mask, and avowed his intentions of dethroning him. The soldiers, being ripe for sedition, on the spot seconded his views, and, taking Otho upon their shoulders, immediately declared him emperor; and, to strike the citizens with terror, carried him, with their swords drawn, into the camp.

Soon after, finding Galba in some measure deserted by his adherents, the soldiers rushed in upon him, trampling the crowds of people that then filled the forum under foot. Galba, seeing them approach, seemed to recollect all his former fortitude; and, bending his head forward, bid the assassins strike it off, if it were for the good of the people. The command was quickly obeyed. The soldier, who struck it off, stuck it upon the point of a lance, and presented it to Otho, who ordered it to be contemptuously carried round the camp; his body remaining unburied in the streets, till he was interred by one of his slaves. His short reign of seven months was as illustrious by his own virtues as it was contaminated by the vices of his favourites, who shared in his downfall.

Otho, who was now elected emperor, began his reign by a signal instance of clemency, in pardoning Marius Celsus, who had been highly favoured by Galba; and not contented with barely forgiving, he advanced him to the highest honours, asserting, « that fidelity deserved every reward. »

In the mean time, the legions in lower Germany,

having been purchased by the large gifts and specious promises of Vitellius their general, were at length induced to proclaim him emperor; and, regardless of the senate, they declared that they had an equal right to appoint to that high station, with the cohorts at Rome.

Otho departed from Rome with all haste to give Vitellius battle. The army of Vitellius, which consisted of seventy thousand men, was commanded by his generals Valens and Cecinna, he himself remaining in Gaul, in order to bring up the rest of his forces. Both sides hastened to meet each other with so much animosity and precipitation, that three considerable battles were fought in the space of three days. In all which Otho and the Romans had the advantage. But these successes were but of short continuance, for Valens and Cecinna, who had hitherto acted separately, joining their forces, and reinforcing their armies with fresh supplies, resolved to come to a general engagement. Otho's forces were totally overthrown, and himself killed shortly after; having reigned three months and five days.

Vitellius was declared emperor by the — A. D. 70,—senate, and received the marks of distinction, which were now accustomed to follow the appointments of the strongest side.

Upon his arrival at Rome, he entered the city, not as a place he came to govern with justice, but as a town that was become his own by the laws of conquest.

Vitellius soon gave himself up to all kinds of luxury and profuseness; but gluttony was so much

his favourite vice, that he brought himself to a habit of vomiting, in order to be able to renew his meals at pleasure. His entertainments, seldom, indeed, at his own cost, were prodigiously expensive. He frequently invited himself to the tables of his subjects, in the same day breakfasting with one, dining with another, and supping with a third. By the continuance of vices, and enormous cruelties, he became a burden to himself, and odious to all mankind. Having become insupportable to the inhabitants of Rome, the legions of the east unanimously resolved to make Vespasian emperor.

During the preparations against him, Vitellius, though buried in sloth and luxury, being resolved to make an effort to defend the empire, his chief commanders, Valens and Cecinna, were ordered, to make all possible preparations to resist the invaders. The first army that entered Italy with a hostile intention was under the command of Antonius Primus, who was met by Cecinna, near Cremona. A battle was expected to ensue: but, a negotiation taking place, Cecinna was prevailed upon to change sides, and declare for Vespasian. His army, however, quickly repented of what they had done: and imprisoning their general, attacked Antonius, though without a leader. The engagement continued the whole night; and, in the morning, after a short repast, both armies engaged a second time; when the soldiers of Antonius saluting the rising sun, according to custom, the Vitellians supposed that they had received new reinforcements, and betook themselves to flight, with the loss of thirty thousand men.

In the mean time, Vitellius made offers to Vespasian of resigning the empire, provided his life were spared, and a sufficient revenue allotted for his support. In order to enforce this request, he issued from his palace in deep mourning, with all his domestics weeping round him. He then went to offer the sword of justice to Cecilius, the consul; which he refusing, the abject emperor prepared to lay down the ensigns of empire in the temple of Concord; but being interrupted by some, who cried out, that he himself was concord, he resolved, upon so weak an encouragement, still to maintain his power, and immediately prepared for his defence.

During this fluctuation of counsels, one Sabinus, who had advised Vitellius to resign, perceiving his desperate situation, resolved, by a bold step, to favour Vespasian; and accordingly seized upon the Capitol. But he was premature in his attempt; for the soldiers of Vitellius attacked him with great fury; and prevailing by their numbers, soon laid that beautiful building in ashes. During this dreadful conflagration, Vitellius was feasting in the palace of Tiberius, and beheld all the horrors of the assault with satisfaction. Sabinus was taken prisoner, and shortly after executed by the emperor's command. Young Domitian, his nephew, who was afterwards emperor, escaped by flight; in the habit of a priest; and the rest who survived the fire were put to the sword.

But Antonius, Vespasian's commander, being arrived before the walls of the city, the forces of

\*\*

Vitellius resolved upon defending it to the utmost extremity. It was attacked with fury ; while the army within , sallying upon the besiegers , defended it with equal obstinacy. The battle lasted the whole day , the besieged were driven into the city , and a dreadful slaughter made of them in the streets , which they vainly attempted to defend.

Vitellius was soon found hidden in an obscure corner , whence he was taken by a party of the conquering soldiers. Still however willing to add a few hours to his miserable life , he begged to be kept in prison till the arrival of Vespasian at Rome , pretending that he had secrets of importance to discover. But his entreaties were vain ; the soldiers , binding his hands behind him , and throwing a halter round his neck , led him along , half naked , into the public forum , loading him with all the bitter reproaches their malice could suggest , or his cruelty might deserve. At length being come to the place of punishment , they put him to death with blows ; and then dragging the dead body through the streets with a hook , they threw it , with all possible ignominy , into the river Tiber.

Vespasian was now declared emperor , — A. D. 79. — by the unanimous consent , both of the senate and the army ; and dignified with all those titles , which now followed rather the power than the merit of those who were appointed to govern. Having continued some months at Alexandria , in Egypt , where it is said he cured a blind man and a cripple by touching them ; he set out for Rome , giving his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay

siege to Jerusalem, he himself went forward, and was met many miles from Rome by all the senate, and the inhabitants, who gave the sincerest testimony of their joy, in having an emperor of such great and experienced virtue. Nor did he, in the least, disappoint their expectations; being equally assiduous in rewarding merit, and pardoning his adversaries; in reforming the manners of the citizens, and setting them the best example in his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war against the Jews with vigour. This obstinate and insatuated people had long resolved to resist the Roman power, vainly hoping to find protection from Heaven, which their impieties had utterly offended. Their own historian represents them as arrived at the highest pitch of iniquity; while famines, earthquakes, and prodigies, all conspired to forebode their approaching ruin. Nor was it sufficient that Heaven and earth seemed combined against them: they had the most bitter dissensions among themselves; and were split into two parties, who robbed and destroyed each other with impunity; still pillaging, and at the same time, boasting their zeal for the religion of their ancestors.

At the head of one of these parties was an incendiary, whose name was John. This fanatic affected sovereign power, and filled the whole city of Jerusalem and all the towns around, with tumult and pillage. In a short time, a new faction arose, headed by one Simon, who, gathering together multitudes of robbers and murderers, who had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and



reduced all Idumea under his power. Jerusalem, at length, became the theatre in which these two demagogues exercised their mutual animosity; John was possessed of the temple, while Simon was admitted into the city, both equally enraged against each other; and slaughter and devastation followed their pretensions. Thus did a city, formerly celebrated for peace and unity, become the seat of tumult and confusion.

In this miserable situation, Titus began his operations within six furlongs of Jerusalem, during the feast of the passover, when the place was filled with an infinite multitude of people, who had come from all parts to celebrate that great solemnity. The approach of the Romans produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within the city; so that they unanimously resolved to oppose the common enemy, and then decide their domestic quarrels at a more convenient season. Their first sally, which was made with much fury and resolution, put the besiegers into great disorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp, and flee to the mountains. However, rallying immediately after, the Jews were forced back into the city; while Titus, in person, showed surprising instances of valour and conduct.

The city was strongly fortified with three walls on every side, except where it was fenced by deep vallies. Titus began by battering down the outward wall, which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected; all the time shewing the greatest clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated assurances

of pardon. Five days after the commencement of the siege, Titus broke through the second wall; and, though driven back by the besieged, he recovered his ground, and made preparations for battering the third wall, which was their last defence. But first he sent Josephus, their countryman, into the city, to exhort them to yield: who, using all his eloquence to persuade them, was only reviled with scoffs and reproaches. The siege was now, therefore, carried on with greater vigour than before: several batteries for engines were raised; which were no sooner built, than destroyed by the enemy. At length, it was resolved in council to surround the whole city with a trench, and thus prevent all relief and succours from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, seemed no way to intimidate the Jews. Though famine, and pestilence, its necessary attendant, began now to make the most horrid ravages among them, yet this desperate people still resolved to hold out. Titus now cut down all the woods within a considerable distance of the city; and, causing more batteries to be raised, he at length battered down the wall, and in five days entered the citadel by force. The Jews, however, continued to deceive themselves with absurd and vain expectations, while many false prophets deluded the multitude, declaring, they should soon have assistance from God. The heat of the battle was now gathered round the inner wall of the temple, while the defendants desperately combated from the top. Titus was willing to save this beautiful structure; but a soldier casting a brand into some adjacent

buildings, the fire communicated to the temple, and, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours on both sides, the whole edifice was quickly consumed. The sight of the temple in ruins effectually served to damp the ardour of the Jews. They now began to suppose, that Heaven had forsaken them; while their cries and lamentations echoed from the adjacent mountains. Even those, who were almost expiring, lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loss of their temple; which they valued more than life itself. The most resolute, however, still endeavoured to defend the upper and stronger part of the city, named Sion; but Titus, with his battering engines, soon made himself entire master of the place. John and Simon were taken from the vaults where they had concealed themselves; the former was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the latter reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greatest part of the populace were put to the sword; and the city was, after a six month's siege, entirely rased by the plough; so that, according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one stone remained upon another. Those who perished in this siege amounted to above a million; the captives to almost a hundred thousand.

Upon the taking of Jerusalem, the soldiers would have crowned Titus as conqueror; but he modestly refused the honour, alleging that he was only an instrument in the hand of Heaven, that manifestly declared its wrath against the Jews. At Rome, however, all men's mouths were filled with the praises of the conqueror, who had not only shown himself

an excellent general, but a courageous combatant. His return, therefore, in triumph, with Vespasian his father, was marked with all the magnificence and joy in the power of men to express. All things, that were esteemed valuable or beautiful, were brought to adorn this great occasion. Among the rich spoils were exposed vast quantities of gold, taken out of the temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the least remarkable among the magnificent profusion. This was the first time that ever Rome saw the father and the son triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected upon this occasion: on this were described all the victories of Titus over the Jews; and it remains almost entire to this day.

Few emperors have received a better character from historians than Vespasian; yet his numerous acts of generosity and magnificence could not preserve his character from the imputation of rapacity and avarice. He descended to some very unusual and dishonourable imposts, even to the laying a tax upon urine. When Titus remonstrated against the meanness of such a tax, Vespasian, taking a piece of money, demanded if the smell offended him; adding, that this very money was produced by urine.

Having reigned ten years, beloved by his subjects, and deserving their affection, he was surprised with an indisposition at Campania, which he declared would be fatal. Perceiving his end approaching, as he was just expiring, he exerted himself, and cried out, « An emperor ought to die standing, » whereupon, raising himself upon his feet, he expired in the arms of those who sustained him.

Titus was joyfully received as emperor, and began to reign with the practice of every virtue that became a sovereign and a man — U. C. 831. - A. D. 79. — During the life of his father, there had been many imputations against him, both for cruelty, lust, and prodigality; but, upon his exaltation to the throne, he seemed entirely to take leave of his former vices, and became an example of the greatest moderation and humanity. The first step towards gaining the affections of his subjects was the moderating his passions, and bridling his inclinations. He had long loved Berenice, sister to Agrippa, king of Judea, a woman of the greatest beauty, and refined allurements: but, knowing that a connexion with her was entirely disagreeable to the people of Rome, he gained the victory over his affections, and sent her away, notwithstanding their mutual passion, and the arts she used to induce him to change his resolutions. He next discarded those who had been the ministers of his pleasures, though he had formerly taken great pains in the selection. This moderation, added to his justice and generosity, procured him the love of all good men, and the appellation of the *Delight of Mankind*; which all his actions seemed calculated to insure.

Titus took particular care to punish all informers, false witnesses, and promoters of dissension. Wretches who had their rise in the licentiousness and impunity of former ages, were now become so numerous, that their crimes called loudly for punishment. Of these he daily made public examples; condemning them to be scourged in the public streets,

dragged through the theatre, and then banished into the uninhabited parts of the empire, or sold as slaves. His courtesy and readiness to do good have been celebrated even by Christian writers; his principal rule being not to send away a petitioner dissatisfied. One night, recollecting that he had done nothing beneficial to mankind during the day, he cried out, « I have lost a day ! » A sentence too remarkable not to be had in remembrance.

In this reign, an eruption of Mount Vesuvius overwhelmed many towns, throwing its ashes into countries more than a hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable occasion, Pliny, the naturalist, lost his life; being impelled by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruption, he was suffocated in the flames.

This and other disasters were, in some measure, counterbalanced by the successes in Britain, under Agricola. This excellent general, having been sent into Britain towards the latter end of Vespasian's reign, showed himself equally expert in quelling the refractory, and civilizing those who had formerly submitted to the Roman power. The Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, were the first that were subdued. He then made a descent upon the Isle of Anglesey, which surrendered at discretion. Having thus rendered himself master of the whole country, he took every method to restore discipline to his own army, and to introduce politeness among those whom he had conquered. He exhorted them, both by advice and example, to build temples,

theatres, and stately houses. He caused the sons of their nobility to be instructed in the liberal arts, and to be taught the Latin language; and induced them to imitate the Roman modes of dress and living. Thus, by degrees, this barbarous people began to assume the luxurious manners of their conquerors, and even to outdo them in all the refinements of sensual pleasure. Upon account of the successes in Britain, Titus was saluted *Imperator* for the fifth time: but he did not long survive this honour, being seized with a violent fever at a little distance from Rome. He expired shortly after, but not without suspicion of treachery from his brother Domitian, who had long wished to govern. His death was in the forty-first year of his age, having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days.

The beginning of Domitian's reign was universally acceptable to the people, — U. C. 833. — A. D. 81. — as he appeared equally remarkable for his clemency, liberality, and justice. But he soon began to show the natural deformity of his mind. Instead of cultivating literature, as his father and brother had done, he neglected all kinds of study, addicting himself wholly to meaner pursuits, particularly archery and gaming. He was so very expert an archer, that he would frequently cause one of his slaves to stand at a great distance, with his hand spread as a mark, and would shoot his arrows with such exactness, as to stick them all between his fingers. He instituted three sorts of contests to be observed every five years, in music, horsemanship, and wrestling; but at the same time, he banished all philoso-

phers and mathematicians from Rome. No emperor before him entertained the people with such various and expensive shows. During these diversions, he distributed great rewards, sitting as president himself, adorned with a purple robe and crown, with the priests of Jupiter, and the college of Flavian priests about him. The meanness of his occupations in solitude was a just contrast to his exhibitions of public ostentation. He usually spent his hours of retirement in catching flies, and sticking them through with a bodkin: so that one of his servants being asked, if the emperor were alone, answered, that he had not so much as a fly to bear him company. His vices seemed every day to increase with the duration of his reign. His ungrateful treatment of Agricola seemed the first symptom of his natural malevolence. Domitian was always particularly fond of obtaining a military reputation, and therefore jealous of it in others. He had marched some time before into Gaul, upon a pretended expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany; and, without ever seeing the enemy, resolved to have the honour of a triumph upon his return to Rome. For that purpose he purchased a number of slaves, whom he dressed in German habits, and, at the head of this miserable procession, entered the city, amidst the apparent acclamations, and concealed contempt, of all his subjects.

The successes of Agricola in Britain affected him with an extreme degree of envy. This excellent general pursued the advantages which he had already obtained. He subdued the Caledonians; and over-



came Galgacus, the British chief, at the head of thirty thousand men ; and afterward sending out a fleet to scour the coast, first discovered Great Britain to be an island. He likewise discovered and subdued the Orkneys; and thus reduced the whole into a civilized province of the Roman empire. When the account of these successes was brought to Domitian, he received it with a seeming pleasure, but real uneasiness. He thought Agricola's rising reputation a tacit reproach upon his own inactivity; and, instead of attempting to emulate, he resolved to suppress the merit of his services. He ordered him, therefore, external marks of approbation; and took care that triumphant ornaments, statues, and other honours, should be decreed him; but at the same time he removed him from his command, under a pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria. By these means, Agricola surrendered up his province to Sallustius Lucullus, but soon found that Syria was otherwise disposed of. Upon his return to Rome, which was privately, and by night, he was coolly received by the emperor; and, dying some time after in retirement, it was supposed, by some, that his end was hastened by Domitian's direction.

Domitian soon after felt the want of so experienced a commander, in the many irruptions of the barbarous nations that surrounded the empire. The Sarmatians in Europe, joined with those of Asia, made a formidable invasion, at once destroying a whole legion, and a general of the Romans. The Dacians, under the conduct of Decebalus their king, made an irruption, and overthrew the Romans in

several engagements. At last, however, the barbarians were repelled, partly by force, and partly by the assistance of money; which only served to enable them to make future invasions with greater advantage. But, in whatever manner the enemy might have been repelled, Domitian was resolved not to lose the honours of a triumph. He returned in great splendour to Rome; and, not contented with thus triumphing twice without a victory, he resolved to take the surname of Germanicus, for his conquests over a people with whom he never contended.

In proportion as ridicule increased against him, his pride seem'd every day to demand greater homage. He would permit his statues to be made only of gold and silver; he assumed to himself divine honours; and ordered that all men should treat him with the same appellations which they gave to the divinity. His cruelty was not behind his arrogance: he caused numbers of the most illustrious senators, and others to be put to death, upon the most trifling pretences. One Ælius Lama was condemned and executed only for jesting, though there was neither novelty nor poignancy in his humour. Cocceanus was murdered only for celebrating the nativity of Otho. Pomposianus shared the same fate, because it was foretold by an astrologer, that he should be emperor. Sallustius Lucullus, his lieutenant in Britain, was destroyed only for having given his name to a new sort of lances of his own invention. Junius Rusticus died for publishing a book, in which he commended Thræsea and Priscus, two philosophers,

who opposed Vespasian's coming to the throne.

Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, knowing how much the emperor was detested at home, resolved upon striking for the throne ; and, accordingly, assumed the ensigns of imperial dignity. As he was at the head of a formidable army, his success remained a long time doubtful ; but a sudden overflow of the Rhine dividing his army, he was set upon at that juncture by *Normandus*, the emperor's general, and totally routed. The news of this victory, we are told, was brought to Rome by supernatural means, on the same day that the battle was fought. Domitian's severity was greatly increased by this short-lived success. In order to discover the accomplices with the adverse party, he invented new tortures ; sometimes cutting of their hands, at other times thrusting fire into the privities of those whom he suspected of being his enemies. During his severities he aggravated his guilt by hypocrisy, never pronouncing sentence without a preamble full of gentleness and mercy. The night before he crucified the comptroller of his household, he treated him with the most flattering marks of friendship, and ordered him a dish of meat from his own table. He carried Aretinus Clemens with him in his own litter the day he had resolved upon his death. He was particularly terrible to the senate and nobility ; the whole body of whom he frequently threatened to extirpate entirely. At one time, he surrounded the senate-house with his troops, to the great consternation of the senators. At another, he

resolved to amuse himself with their terrors in a different manner. Having invited them to a public entertainment, he received them all very formally at the entrance of his palace, and conducted them into a spacious hall, hung round with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy lamps, that diffused light only sufficient to show the horrors of the place. All around were to be seen nothing but coffins, with the names of each of the senators, written upon them, together with other objects of terror, and instruments of execution. While the company beheld all these preparations with silent agony, several men, having their bodies blackened, each with a drawn sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall, and danced round them. After some time when the guests expected nothing less than the most instant death, well knowing Domitian's capricious cruelty, the doors were set open, and one of the servants came to inform them, that the emperor gave all the company leave to withdraw.

His cruelties were rendered still more odious, by his lust and avarice. Frequently, after presiding at an execution, he would retire with the lewdest prostitutes, and use the same baths which they did. The last part of the tyrant's reign was more insupportable than any of the preceding. Nero exercised his cruelties without being a spectator; but a principal part of the Roman miseries, during his reign, was to see and to be seen; to behold the stern air and fiery visage of the tyrant, which he had armed against sensibility by continued intemperance, di-

recting the tortures, and maliciously pleased with adding poignance to every agony.

But a period was soon to be put to this monster's cruelties. Among the number of those whom he at once caressed and suspected was his wife Domitia, whom he had taken from Ælius Lama, her former husband. It was the tyrant's method to put down the names of all such as he intended to destroy, in his tablets, which he kept about him with great circumspection. Domitia, fortunately happening to get a sight of them, was struck at finding her own name in the catalogue of those fated to destruction. She showed the fatal list to Norbanus and Petronius, præfects of the prætorian bands, who found themselves also set down : as likewise to Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, who came into the conspiracy with alacrity. They fixed upon the *eighteenth day of September* for the completion of their great attempt. Upon preparing to go to the bath on the morning of that day, Petronius, his chamberlain, came to inform him that Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, desired to speak to him, upon an affair of the utmost importance. The emperor having given orders that his attendants should retire, Stephanus entered with his hand in a scarf, which he had worn thus for some days, the better to conceal a dagger, as none were permitted to approach the emperor with arms. He began by giving information of a pretended conspiracy, and, exhibited a paper, in which the particulars were specified. While Domitian was reading the contents with an eager curiosity, Stephanus drew his dagger, and struck him in the groin. The

wound not being mortal, Domitian caught hold of the assassin, and threw him upon the ground, calling out for assistance. But Parthenius, with his freedman, a gladiator, and two subaltern officers, now coming in, they ran all furiously upon the emperor, and dispatched him with seven wounds.

It is rather incredible, what some writers relate concerning Apollonius Tyaneus, who was then at Ephesus. This person, whom some call a magician, and some a philosopher, but who more probably was nothing but an impostor, was, just at the minute in which Domitian was slain, lecturing in one of the public gardens of the city; but stopping short, all of a sudden he cried out, « Courage, Stephanus, strike « the tyrant. » And then, after a pause, « Rejoice, « my friends, the tyrant dies this day!—this day do « I say?—the very moment in which I kept silence « he suffered for his crimes! He dies! »

Many prodigies were said to have portended his death; more preternatural appearances, and predictions, than it deserved. The truth seems to be that a belief in omens and prodigies was again become prevalent; the people were again relapsing into pristine barbarity. A country of ignorance is ever the proper soil for a harvest of imposture.

.....

## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS OF ROME.

WHEN it was publicly known that Domitian was slain, — U. C. 848. — A. D. 96. — the senate began

to load his memory with every reproach. His statues were commanded to be taken down ; and a decree was made, that all his inscriptions should be erased, his name struck out of the registers of Fame , and his funeral omitted. The people, who now took but little part in the affairs of government, looked on his death with indifference; the soldiers alone, whom he had loaded with favours, and enriched with largesses, sincerely regretted their benefactor.

The senate, therefore, resolved to provide a successor before the army could have an opportunity of taking the appointment upon themselves ; and Cocceius Nerva was chosen to the empire the very day on which the tyrant was slain. He was of an illustrious family, as most say, by birth a Spaniard, and above sixty-five years old when he was called to the throne. He was, at that time, the most remarkable man in Rome, for his virtues, moderation, and respect to the laws; and he owed his exaltation to the blameless conduct of his life.

The people, being long accustomed to tyranny, regarded Nerva's gentle reign with rapture, and even gave his imbecillity (for his humanity was carried too far for justice) the name of benevolence. Upon coming to the throne, he solemnly swore, that no senator of Rome should be put to death by his command, during his reign, though they gave ever so just a cause. This oath he so religiously observed, that, when two senators had conspired his death, he used no kind of severity against them; but, sending for them, to let them see he was not ignorant of their designs, he carried them with him to the

public theatre; there presenting each a dagger, he desired them to strike, as he was determined not to ward off the blow. He had so little regard for money, that, when one of his subjects found a large treasure, and wrote to the emperor, how to dispose of it, he received for answer, that he might use it; but the finder still informing the emperor that it was a fortune too large for a private person to use; Nerva, admiring his honesty, wrote him word, that then he might abuse it.

A life of such generosity and mildness was not, however, without its enemies. Vigilius Rufus, who had opposed him, was not only pardoned, but made his colleague in the consulship. Calpurnius Crassus also, with some others, formed a conspiracy to destroy him; but Nerva was satisfied with banishing those who were culpable, though the senate were for inflicting more rigorous punishments. But the most dangerous insurrection against his interests was from the prætorian bands, who, headed by Casparius Ollianus, insisted upon revenging the late emperor's death, whose memory was still dear to them, from his frequent liberalities. Nerva, whose kindness to good men rendered him more obnoxious to the vicious, did all in his power to stop the progress of this insurrection: he presented himself to the mutinous soldiers, and, opening his bosom, desired them to strike there, rather than be guilty of so much injustice. The soldiers, however, paid no regard to his remonstrances, but seizing upon Petronius and Parthenius, slew them in the most ignominious manner. Not content with this, they



even compelled the emperor to approve their sedition, and to make a speech to the people, in which he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

So disagreeable a constraint upon the emperor's inclinations was, in the end, attended with the most happy effects, as it caused the adoption of Trajan to succeed him; for, perceiving that, in the present turbulent disposition of the times, he stood in need of an assistant in the empire, setting *aside* all his own relations, he fixed upon Ulpian Trajan, an utter stranger to his family, who was then governor in Upper Germany, as his successor. And in about three months after, having put himself into a violent passion with one Regulus, a senator, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, after a reign of one year, four months, and nine days.

He was the first foreign emperor who had reigned in Rome, and justly reputed a prince of great generosity and moderation. He is also celebrated for his wisdom, though with less reason; the greatest instance given of it, during his reign, being the choice of his successor.

Trajan prepared to return to Rome, from Germany, — U. C. 851. — A. D. 98. — where he was governor: and one of the first lectures he received, upon his arrival, was from Plutarch, the philosopher, who had the honour, of being his master, and is said to have written him a letter, to the following purpose: « Since, your merits, and not your importunities, have advanced you to the empire, permit me to congratulate your virtues, and my own good fortune. If your future government prove answerable

« ble to your former worth, I shall be happy. But if  
 « you become worse for power, yours will be the dan-  
 « ger, and mine the ignominy, of your conduct. The  
 « errors of the pupil will be charged upon his ins-  
 « tructor. Seneca is reproached for the enormities  
 « of Nero ; and Socrates and Quintilian have not es-  
 « caped censure for the misconduct of their respec-  
 « tive scholars. But you have it in your power to  
 « make me the most honoured of men, by continu-  
 « ing what you are. Continue the command of your  
 « passions ; and make virtue the scope of all your  
 « actions. If you follow these instructions, then will  
 « I glory in my having presumed to give them ; if  
 « you neglect what I offer, then will this letter be  
 « my testimony, that you have not erred through  
 « the counsel and authority of Plutarch. » I insert  
 this letter, because it is a striking picture of this  
 great philosopher's manner of addressing that best  
 of princes.

This good monarch's application to business, his moderation to enemies, his modesty in exaltation, his liberality to the deserving, and his frugality, were the subjects of panegyric among his contemporaries, and continue to be the admiration of posterity.

The first war he was engaged in, after his coming to the throne, was with the Dacians, who, during the reign of Domitian, had committed numberless ravages upon the provinces of the empire. He therefore raised a powerful army, and, with great expedition, marched into those barbarous countries,

where he was vigorously opposed by Decebalus , the Dacian king , who had withstood his boldest efforts. At length , however , this monarch being constrained to come to a general battle , and no longer able to protract the war , he was routed with great slaughter. The Roman soldiers , upon this occasion wanting linen to bind up their wounds , the emperor tore his own robes to supply them. This victory compelled the enemy to sue for peace , which they obtained upon very disadvantageous terms : their king coming into the Roman camp , and acknowledging himself a vassal of the Roman empire.

Upon Trajan's return , after the usual triumphs and rejoicings , he was suprised with an account , that the Dacians had renewed hostilities. Decebalus , their king , was a second time adjudged an enemy to the Roman state , and Trajan invaded his dominions. In order to be enabled to invade the enemy's territories at pleasure , he undertook a most stupendous work , which was no less than building a bridge across the Danube. This amazing structure , which was built over a deep , broad , and rapid river , consisted of more than twenty-two arches ; the ruins , which remain to this day , show modern architects how far they were surpassed by the ancients , both in the greatness and boldness of their designs. Upon finishing this work , Trajan continued the war with great vigour , sharing with the meanest of his soldiers the fatigues of the campaign , and continually encouraging them to their duty by his own example. By these means , notwithstanding the country was spacious and uncultivated , and the inhabitants brave

and hardy, he subdued the whole, and added the kingdom of Dacia as a province to the Roman empire. Decebalus made some attempts to escape; but, being surrounded, he slew himself. These successes seemed to advance the empire to a greater degree of splendour than it had hitherto acquired. Ambassadors came from the interior parts of India to congratulate Trajan's success, and solicit his friendship. At his return to Rome, he entered in triumph; and the rejoicings for his victories lasted a hundred and twenty days.

Having given peace and prosperity to the empire, he was loved, honoured, and almost adored. He adorned the city with public buildings; he freed it from such men as lived by their vices; he entertained persons of merit with familiarity; and so little did he fear his enemies, that he could scarcely be induced to suppose he had any.

It had been happy for this great prince's memory, had he shown an equal clemency to all his subjects; but about the ninth year of his reign, he was persuaded to look upon the Christians with a suspicious eye; and great numbers of them were put to death, by popular tumults and judicial proceedings. — U. C. 860. — A. D. 107. — However the persecution ceased after some time; for the emperor having advice of the innocence and simplicity of the Christians, and of their inoffensive and moral way of living, he suspended their punishments.

During this emperor's reign, there was a dreadful insurrection of the Jews in all parts of the empire. This wretched people, infatuated, and ever

expecting some signal deliverance, took the advantage of Trajan's expedition to the East, to massacre all the Greeks and Romans, which they could get into their power. This rebellion first began in Cyrene, a Roman province in Africa; thence the flame extended to Egypt, and next to the island of Cyprus. These places they in a manner dispeopled with ungovernable fury. *Their barbarities were such, that they ate the flesh of their enemies, wore their skins, sawed them asunder, cast them to wild beasts, made them kill each other, and studied new torments by which to destroy them.* However, these cruelties were of no long duration: the governors of the respective provinces, making head against their tumultuous fury, soon treated them with a retaliation of cruelty, and put them to death, not as human beings, but as outrageous pests to society. In Cyprus it was made capital for any Jew to set foot on the island.

During these bloody transactions, Trajan was prosecuting his successes in the East, where he carried the Roman arms farther than they had ever been before; but, resolving to return once more to Rome, he found himself too weak to proceed in his usual manner. He, therefore, ordered himself to be carried on shipboard to the city of *Selencia*, — U. C. 870. — A. D. 117. — where he died of an apoplexy, in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days.

Adrian, who was nephew to Trajan, was elected to succeed him. He began to pursue a course opposite to that of his predecessor, taking every method

of declining war, and promoting the arts of peace. He was satisfied with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, and seemed no way ambitious of extensive conquest.

Adrian was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors for the variety of his endowments. He was highly skilled in all the accomplishments both of body and mind. He composed with great beauty, both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best orators of his time. Nor were his virtues less than his accomplishments. His moderation and clemency appeared by pardoning the injuries which he had received when he was yet but a private man. One day meeting a person, who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, « My good friend, » said he, « you have escaped; for I am « made emperor. » He was affable to his friends, and gentle to persons of meaner stations: he relieved their wants, and visited them in sickness; it being his constant maxim, that he was an emperor, not elected for his own good, but for the benefit of mankind.

These were his virtues, which were contrasted by a strange mixture of vices; or, to say the truth, he wanted strength of mind to preserve his rectitude of character without deviation.

He was scarce settled on the throne, when several of the northern barbarians began to make devastations on the empire. The hardy nations, who now found the way to conquer, by issuing from their forests, and then retiring upon the approach of a

superior force , began to be truly formidable to Rome. Adrian had thoughts of contracting the limits of the empire, by giving up some of the most remote and least defensible provinces ; but in this he was overruled by friends , who wrongly imagined that an extensive frontier would intimidate an invading enemy. But though he complied with their remonstrances , he broke down the bridge over the Danube , which his predecessor had built , sensible that the same passage which was open to him , was equally convenient to the incursions of his barbarous neighbours.

Having stayed a short time at Rome , so as to see that all things were regulated and established for the safety of the public , he prepared to visit and take a view of his whole empire. It was one of his maxims , that an emperor ought to imitate the sun , which diffuses warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He therefore took with him a splendid court and a considerable force , and entered the province of Gaul , where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul he went into Germany ; thence to Holland ; and then passed over into Britain ; where reforming many abuses , and reconciling the natives to the Romans , for the better security of the southern parts of the kingdom he built a wall of wood and earth , extending from the river Eden in Cumberland to the Tyne in Northumberland , to prevent the incursions of the Picts , and the other barbarous nations towards the north. From Britain , returning through Gaul , he directed his journey to Spain , where he was received with great joy ,

being a native of that country. Returning to Rome, he continued there for some time, in order to prepare for his journey into the east, which was hastened by a new invasion of the Parthians. His approach compelling the enemy to peace, he pursued his travels without molestation. He visited the famous city of Athens. There, making a considerable stay, he was initiated into the Eleusian mysteries, which were accounted the most sacred in the Pagan mythology; and took upon him the office of Archon, or chief magistrate. In this place, also, he remitted the severity of the Christian persecution. He was even so far reconciled to them, as to think of introducing Christ among the number of gods. He prepared ships, and crossed over into Africa. There he spent much time in regulating abuses, and reforming the government; in deciding controversies, and erecting magnificent buildings. Among the rest he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt, calling it, after his own name, Adrianople. Again he returned to Rome; travelled a second time into Greece; passed over into Asia Minor; thence into Syria; gave laws and instructions to all the neighbouring kings; entered Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, that had been long neglected, and almost covered with sand, to be renewed and beautified. He gave orders for the rebuilding of Jerusalem; which was performed with great expedition, by the assistance of the Jews, who now began to conceive hopes of being restored to their long lost kingdom. But these expectations only served to aggravate their calamities;



for, being incensed at the privileges which were granted the Pagan worshippers in their new city, they fell upon the Romans and Christians that were dispersed throughout Judea, and unmercifully put them all to the sword. Adrian, sending a powerful body of men against them, obtained many signal, though bloody victories, over the insurgents. The war was concluded in two years by the demolition of above one thousand of their best towns, and the destruction of near 600,000 men in battle.

He then banished all those who remained in Judea; and, by a public decree forbade any to come within view of their native soil. This insurrection was soon after followed by a dangerous irruption of the barbarous nations to the northward of the empire; who, entering Media with great fury, and passing through Armenia, carried their devastations as far as Cappadocia. Adrian, preferring peace, upon any terms, to an unprofitable war, bought them off by large sums of money; so that they returned peaceably into their native wilds, to enjoy their plunder, and to meditate fresh invasions.

Having spent thirteen years in travelling and reforming the abuses of the empire, Adrian at last resolved to end his fatigues at Rome. Nothing could be more grateful to the people than his resolution of coming to reside, for the rest of his days, among them: they received him with the loudest demonstrations of joy; and, though he now began to grow old and unwieldy, he remitted not the least of his former assiduity and attention to the public welfare. His chief amusement was in conversing with

the most celebrated men in every art and science, frequently boasting, that he thought no kind of knowledge inconsiderable, or to be neglected, either in his private or public capacity. He ordered the knights and senators never to appear in public, but in the proper habits of their orders. He forbade masters to kill their slaves, as had before been allowed; but ordained that they should be tried by the laws. He still farther extended the lenity of the laws to those unhappy men, who had been long thought too mean for justice: if a master were found killed in his house, he would not allow all his slaves to be put to the torture as formerly, but only such as might have perceived and prevented the murder.

In such employments he spent the greatest part of his time; but, at last finding the duties of his station daily increasing, and his own strength proportionally upon the decline, he resolved on adopting a successor. Antoninus was the person he pitched upon.

While he was thus careful in appointing a successor, his bodily infirmities became so insupportable, that he vehemently desired some of his attendants to dispatch him. Antoninus, however, would by no means permit any of the domestics to be guilty of so great an impiety, but used all the arts in his power to reconcile the emperor to sustain life. His pain increasing every day, he was frequently heard to cry out, « How miserable a thing « it is to seek death, and not to find it! » Continuing for some time in these excruciating circum-

tances, he was at last resolved to observe no regimen, often saying that kings died merely by the multitude of their physicians. This conduct served to hasten that death he seemed so ardently to desire; and it was probably joy upon its approach, that dictated the celebrated stanzas which are so well known, and in repeating which he expired in the sixty-second year of his age, after a *prosperous* twenty-one years and eleven months.

Titus Antoninus, his successor, was born in the city of Nismes, in Gaul. — U. C. 891. — A. D. 138. — His father was a nobleman, who had enjoyed the highest honours of the state. At the time of his succeeding to the throne, he was above fifty years old, and had passed through many of the most important offices of the state with great integrity and application. His virtues in private life were no way impaired by exaltation as he showed himself one of the most excellent princes for justice, clemency, and moderation. His morals were so pure, that he was usually compared to Numa, and was surnamed the Pious, both for his tenderness to his predecessor Adrian when dying, and his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

He was an eminent rewarder of learned men, to whom he gave large pensions and great honours, drawing them from all parts of the world. Among the rest, he sent for Apollonius, the famous stoic philosopher, to instruct his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius. Appollonius being arrived, the emperor desired his attendance; but the other arrogantly answered, that it was the scholar's duty to wait upon

the master, not the master's upon the scholar. To this reply, Antoninus only returned with a smile ; « That it was surprising how Appollonius, who made « difficulty of coming from Greece to Rome, should « think it so hard to walk from one part of Rome « to another ; » and immediately sent Marcus Aurelius to him. While the good emperor was thus employed, in making mankind happy, in directing their conduct by his own example, or reproving their follies with the keenness of rebuke, he was seized with a violent fever, and ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him. In their presence he confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius ; then commanding the golden statue of Fortune, which was always in the chamber of the emperors, to be removed to that of his successor, he expired in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-two years, and al-eight months.

Marcus Aurelius, though left sole successor to the throne, — U. C. 914.—A. D. 161. — took Lucius Verus as his associate and equal, in governing the state. Aurelius was the son of Annius Verus, of an ancient and illustrious family, which claimed its original from Numa. Lucius Verus was the son of Commodus, who had been adopted by Adrian, but died before he succeeded to the throne. Aurelius was as remarkable for his virtues and accomplishments, as his partner in the empire was for his ungovernable passions and debauched morals. The one was an example of the greatest goodness and wisdom ; the other, of ignorance, sloth, and extravagance.

The two emperors had been scarce settled on the throne, when the empire seemed attacked on every side, from the barbarous nations by which it was surrounded. The Catti invaded Germany and Rhætia, ravaging all with fire and sword; but were repelled by Victorinus. The Britons likewise revolted, but were repressed by Caligurnius. But the Parthians, under their king Vologeses, made an irruption still more dreadful than either of the former; destroying the Roman legions in Armenia; then entering Syria, driving out the Roman governor, and filling the whole country with terror and confusion. In order to stop the progress of this barbarous irruption, Verus went in person, being accompanied by Aurelius part of the way.

Verus, upon entering Antioch, gave an indulgence to every appetite, without attending to the fatigues of war, rioting in excesses unknown even to the voluptuous Greeks; leaving all the glory of the field to his lieutenants, who were sent to repress the enemy. These, however, fought with great successes. In four years, during which the war continued, the Romans entered far into the Parthian country, and entirely subdued it; but, upon their return, their army was wasted to less than half its former number by pestilence and famine. However, this was no impediment to the vanity of Verus, who resolved to enjoy the honours of a triumph so hardly earned by others. Having appointed a king over the Armenians, and finding the Parthians entirely subdued, he assumed the titles of Armenicus

and Parthicus, and then returned to Rome, to partake of a triumph with Aurelius, which was solemnised with great pomp and splendour.

During the course of Verus's expedition, Aurelius was sedulously intent upon distributing justice and happiness to his subjects at home. He first applied himself to the regulation of public affairs, and to the correcting such faults as he found in the laws and policy of the state. In this endeavour he showed a singular respect for the senate; often permitting them to determine without appeal; so that the commonwealth seemed in a manner once more revived under his equitable administration. Besides, such was his application to business, that he often employed ten days together upon the same subject, maturely considering it on all sides, and seldom departing from the senate-house till the assembly was dismissed by the consul. But he was daily mortified with accounts of the enormities of his colleague; being repeatedly assured of his vanity, lewdness, and extravagance. However, feigning himself ignorant of these excesses, he judged marriage to be the best method of reclaiming him; and therefore sent him his daughter Lucilla, a woman of great beauty, whom Verus married at Antioch. But even this was found ineffectual: Lucilla proved of a disposition very unlike her father; and, instead of correcting her husband's extravagancies, only contributed to inflame them. Aurelius still hoped, that his presence, upon the return of Verus to Rome, would keep him in awe, and that happiness would,

at length, be restored to the state. In this also he was disappointed. His return seemed fatal to the empire; for his army carried back the plague from Parthia; and disseminated the infection into the provinces through which it passed.

Nothing could exceed the miserable state of the empire upon the return of Verus. In this horrid picture were represented an emperor, unawed by example or the calamities surrounding him, giving way to unheard-of debaucheries; a raging pestilence spreading terror and desolation through all parts of the western world; earthquakes, famines, and inundations, such as had never before happened; the products of the earth, through all Italy, devoured by locusts; the barbarous nations, around the empire, taking advantage of its various calamities, and making their irruptions even into Italy itself. The priests doing all they could to put a stop to the miseries of the state, by attempting to appease the gods; vowing and offering numberless sacrifices; celebrating all the sacred rites that had ever been known in Rome; and exhibiting the solemnity called *Lectisternia*<sup>1</sup> seven days together. To crown the whole, these enthusiasts, as if the impending calamities had not been sufficient, ascribed the distresses of the state to the impieties of the Christians; a violent persecution ensued in all parts of the empire; and Justin Martyr, Polycarp, and a prodigious number, suffered martyrdom.

In this scene of universal tumult, desolation, and distress, there was nothing left but the virtues and

<sup>1</sup> Funerals banquets to the gods.

the wisdom of one man to restore tranquillity and bring back happiness to the empire. Aurelius began his endeavours by marching against the Marcomanni and Quadi, taking Verus with him, who reluctantly left the sensual delights of Rome for the fatigues of a camp. They came up with the Marcomanni near the city of Aquileia, and, after a furious engagement, routed their whole army; then, pursuing them across the Alps, overcame them in several contests, and at last, entirely defeating them, returned into Italy without any considerable loss.—U. C. 922.—A. D. 169.—As the winter was far advanced, Verus was determined upon going to Rome, in which journey he was seized with an apoplexy that put an end to his life, being thirty-nine years old, having reigned in conjunction with Aurelius nine years.

Aurelius, who had hitherto sustained the fatigues of governing, not only an empire, but his colleague, began to act with greater diligence, and more vigour than ever. After thus subduing the Marcomanni, he returned to Rome, where he began his usual endeavours to benefit mankind by a farther reformation.

But his good endeavours were soon interrupted by a renewal of the former wars; in one of the engagements, in which he is said to have been miraculously relieved, when his army was perishing with thirst, by the prayers of a Christian legion, which had been levied in his service; we are told there fell such a shower of rain, as instantly refreshed the fainting army. The soldiers were seen holding



their mouths and their helmets to Heaven, and receiving the water, which came so wonderfully to their relief. The same clouds which served for their rescue, discharged so terrible a storm of hail, accompanied with thunder, against the enemy, as astonished and confounded them. By this unlooked-for aid, the Romans, recovering strength and courage, once more turned upon their pursuers, and cut them in pieces.

Such are the circumstances of an engagement, acknowledged by Pagan, as well as Christian writers; only with this difference, that the latter ascribe the victory to their own, the former to the prayers of their emperor. However this be, Aurelius seemed so sensible of miraculous assistance, that he immediately relaxed the persecution against the Christians, and wrote to the senate in their favour.

This good emperor having detected one Avidius in a conspiracy against him, and generously granted him his pardon, some who were near his person took the liberty to blame his conduct, telling him, that Avidius would not have been so generous had he been conqueror: to this the emperor sublimely replied, « I never served the gods so ill, or reigned « so irregularly, as to fear Avidius could be conqueror. »

He usually called Philosophy his mother, in opposition to the Court, which he considered as his step-mother. He also frequently said, « the people « are happy, whose philosophers are kings, or whose « kings are philosophers. » He, in fact, was one of the most considerable men then existing; and,

though he had been born in the meanest station, his merits as a writer, for his works remain to this day, would have insured him immortality.

Having thus restored prosperity to his subjects, and peace to mankind, news was brought him, that the Scythians and the barbarous nations of the North, were up in arms, and invading the empire. He once more, therefore, resolved to expose his aged person in the defence of his country, and made speedy preparations to oppose them. He went to the senate, and desired to have money out of the public treasury. He then spent three days in giving the people lectures on regulating their lives; and, having finished, departed upon his expedition, amidst the prayers and lamentations of his subjects. Upon going to open his third campaign, he was seized at Vienna with the plague, which stopped the progress of his success. Nothing, however, could abate his design of being beneficial to mankind. His fears for the youth and unpromising disposition of Commodus, his son and successor, seemed to give him great uneasiness. He, therefore, addressed his friends and the principal officers that were gathered round his bed; that, as his son was now losing a father, he hoped he would find many in them. While thus speaking, he was seized with a weakness, which stopped his utterance, and brought on death. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years. It seemed as if the glory and prosperity of the empire died with this greatest of the Roman emperors.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM COMMODUS TO THE TRANSFERRING THE SEAT OF  
THE EMPIRE, UNDER CONSTANTINE, FROM ROME TO  
CONSTANTINOPLE.

**T**HE merits of Aurelius procured Commodus an easy accession to the throne. — U. C. 933. — A. D. 180. — He was acknowledged emperor by the army, by the senate and people, and afterwards by all the provinces.

But his whole reign was a tissue of wantonness and folly, cruelty and injustice, rapacity and corruption. So strong a similitude was there between his conduct and that of Domitian, that a reader might imagine he was going over the same reign. He went with his associates to *brothels*; spent the day in feasting, and the night in the most abominable debaucheries. He would sometimes go about the markets in a frolic, with small wares, as a petty chapman; sometimes he affected to be a horse-courser; at other times he drove his own chariot in a slave's habit. Those he promoted resembled himself, being the companions of his pleasures, or the ministers of his cruelty.

If any person desired to be revenged on an enemy, by bargaining with Commodus for a sum of money, he was permitted to destroy him in such a manner as he thought proper. He commanded a person to be cast to the wild beasts for reading the life of Caligula in Suetonius. He ordered another

to be thrown into a burning furnace for accidentally overheating his bath. He would sometimes, when he was in a pleasant humour, cut off men's noses, under pretence of shaving their beards; and yet he was himself so jealous of all mankind, that he thought it necessary to be his own barber.

At length, upon the feast of Janus, resolving to fence before the people naked, as a common gladiator, three of his friends remonstrated with him upon the indecency of such behaviour. These were Lætus, his general, Electus, his chamberlain, and Marcia, a concubine, of whom he always appeared excessively fond. Their advice was attended with no other effect, than that of inciting him to resolve upon their destruction. It was his method, like that of Domitian, to set down the names of all such as he intended to put to death in a roll, which he carefully kept by him. However, at this time, happening to lay the roll on his bed, while he was bathing in another room, it was taken up by a little boy, whom he passionately loved. The child after playing with it some time, brought it to Marcia, who was instantly alarmed at the contents. She immediately discovered her terrors to Lætus and Electus, who, perceiving their dangerous situation, instantly resolved upon the tyrant's death. After some deliberation, it was agreed to dispatch him by poison; but this not succeeding, Marcia hastily introduced a young man, called Narcissus, whom she prevailed upon to assist in strangling the tyrant. Commodus died in the thirty-first year of his age, after an impious reign of twelve years and nine months.

Such were the secrecy and expedition with which Commodus was assassinated, that few were acquainted with the real circumstances of his death. — U. C. 945. — A. D. 192. — His body was wrapped up as a bale of useless furniture, and carried through the guards, most of whom were either drunk or asleep.

Helvius Pertinax, whose virtues and courage rendered him worthy of the most exalted station, and who had passed through many changes of fortune, had been previously fixed upon to succeed him. When, therefore, the conspirators repaired to his house to salute him emperor, he considered it as a command from the emperor Commodus for his death. Upon Lætus entering his apartment, Pertinax, without any show of fear, cried out, that for many days he had expected to end his life in that manner, wondering that the emperor had deferred it so long. He was not a little surprised when informed of the real cause their visit; and, being strongly urged to accept of the empire, he, at last, complied.

Being carried to the camp, Pertinax was proclaimed emperor, and soon after the citizens and senate consented. They then pronounced Commodus a parricide; an enemy to the gods, his country, and all mankind; and commanded that his corpse should rot upon a dunghill. In the mean time, they saluted Pertinax as emperor and Cæsar, with numerous acclamations; and cheerfully took the oaths of obedience. The provinces soon after followed the example of Rome; so that he began his reign with universal satisfaction to the whole empire, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Nothing could exceed the justice and wisdom of this monarch's reign, the short time it continued. But the prætorian soldiers, whose manners he had attempted to reform, having been long corrupted by the indulgence and profusion of their former monarch, began to hate him for the parsimony and discipline he had introduced among them. They, therefore, resolved to dethrone him; and accordingly, in a tumultuous manner, marched through the streets of Rome, entered his palace without opposition, where a Tungrian soldier struck him dead with a blow of his lance. From the number of his adventures he was called the tennis-ball of fortune; and certainly no man ever experienced such a variety of situations, with so blameless a character. He reigned but three months.

The soldiers, having committed this outrage, made proclamation, that they would sell the empire to whoever would purchase at the highest price. — U. C. 954. — A. D. 201. — In consequence of this proclamation, two bidders were found, namely, Sulpician and Didius. The former, a consular person, præfect of the city, and son-in-law to the late emperor Pertinax. The latter a consular person likewise a great lawyer, and the wealthiest man in the city. Sulpician had rather promises than treasure to bestow. The offers of Didius, who produced immense sums of ready money, prevailed. He was received into the camp, and the soldiers instantly swore to obey him as emperor. Upon being conducted to the senate-house, he addressed the few that were present in a laco-

nic speech , « Fathers , you want an emperor , and I am the fittest person you can choose. » The choice of the soldiers was confirmed by the senate , and Didius was acknowledged emperor , in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

It should seem by this weak monarch's conduct when seated on the throne , that he thought the government of an empire rather a pleasure than a toil. Instead of attempting to gain the hearts of his subjects , he gave himself up to ease and inactivity , utterly regardless of the duties of his station. He was mild and gentle indeed , neither injuring any , nor expecting to be injured. But that avarice by which he became opulent , still followed him in his exaltation ; so that the very soldiers , who elected him , soon began to detest him for those qualities so very opposite to a military character. The people , also , against whose consent he was chosen , were not less his enemies. Whenever he issued from his palace , they openly poured forth their imprecations against him , crying out , that he was a thief , and had stolen the empire. Didius , however , in the true spirit of a trader , patiently bore all their reproach , and testified his regard by every kind of submission.

Soon after , Severus , an African by birth , being proclaimed by his army , began by promising to revenge the death of Pertinax.

Didius , upon being informed of his approach towards Rome , obtained the consent of the senate to send him ambassadors , offering to make him a partner in the empire. But Severus rejected this offer , conscious of his own strength , and of the weak-

ness of the proposer. The senate appeared to be of the same sentiments, and, perceiving the timidity and weakness of their present master, abandoned him. Being called together, as was formerly practised in the times of the commonwealth, by the consuls, they unanimously decreed, that Didius should be deprived of the empire, and that Severus should be proclaimed in his stead. They then commanded Didius to be slain, and sent messengers for this purpose to the palace, where they found him disarmed, and dispatched him among a few friends that still adhered to his interest.

Severus, having overcome Niger and Albinus, who were his competitors for the empire, undertook the reins of government, uniting great vigour with the most refined policy; yet his African cunning was considered as a singular defect in him. He is celebrated for his wit, learning, and prudence, but execrated for his perfidy and cruelty. In short, he seemed equally capable of the greatest acts of virtue, and the most bloody severities.

He loaded his soldiers with rewards and honours, giving them such privileges as strengthened his own power, while they destroyed that of the state. For the soldiers, who had hitherto shown the strongest inclinations to an abuse of power, were now made arbiters of the fate of emperors.

Being thus secure of his army, he resolved to give way to his natural turn for conquest, and to oppose his arms against the Parthians, who were then invading the frontiers of the empire. Having therefore, previously given the government of domestic



policy to one Plantian, a favourite, to whose daughter he married his son Caracalla, he set out for the east, and prosecuted the war with his usual expedition and success. He forced submission from the king of Armenia destroyed several cities in Arabia Felix, landed on the Parthian coasts, took and plundered the famous city of Ctesiphon, marched back through Palestine and Egypt, and, at length, returned to Rome in triumph.

During this interval, Plantian, who was left to direct the affairs of Rome, began to think of aspiring to the empire himself. Upon the emperor's return, he employed a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, of which he was commander, to assassinate him, as likewise his son Caracalla. The tribune informed Severus of his favourite's treachery. He at first received this as an improbable story, and as the artifice of one who envied his favourite's fortune. However, he was at last persuaded to permit the tribune to conduct Plantian to the emperor's apartments, to be a testimony against himself. With this intent, the tribune went and amused him with a pretended account of his killing the emperor and his son; desiring him if he thought fit to see him dead, to go with him to the palace. As Plantian ardently desired their deaths, he readily gave credit to the relation, and, following the tribune, was conducted at midnight into the innermost recesses. But what must have been his disappointment, when, instead of finding the emperor lying dead, as he expected, he beheld the room lighted up with torches, and Severus, surrounded by his friends, prepared in

array to receive him. Being asked by the emperor, with a stern countenance, what had brought him there, at that unseasonable time? he ingenuously confessed the whole, entreating forgiveness for what he had intended. The emperor seemed inclined to pardon; but Caracalla, his son, who from the earliest age, showed a disposition to cruelty, with his sword ran him through the body.

After this, Severus spent a considerable time in visiting some cities in Italy, permitting none of his officers to sell places of trust or dignity, and distributing justice with the strictest impartiality. He then undertook an expedition into Britain, where the Romans were in danger of being destroyed, or compelled to flee the province. After appointing his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, joint successors in the empire, and taking them with him, he landed in Britain, to the great terror of such as had drawn down his resentment. Upon his progress into the country, he left his son Geta in the southern parts of the province, which had continued in obedience, and marched, with his son Caracalla, against the Caledonians. In this expedition, his army suffered prodigious hardships in pursuing the enemy: they were obliged to hew their way through intricate forests, to drain extensive marshes, and form bridges over rapid rivers; so that he lost fifty thousand men with fatigue and sickness. However, he surmounted these inconveniencies with unremitting bravery, and prosecuted his successes with such vigour, that he compelled the enemy to beg for

peace ; which they obtained not without the surrender of a considerable part of their country. It was there that , for its better security, he built that famous wall, which still goes by his name , extending from Solway Frith, on the west, to the German ocean , on the east. He did not long survive his successes here, but died at York , in the sixty-sixth year of his age , after an active, though cruel reign, of about eighteen years.

Caracalla and Geta , his sons , being acknowledged as emperors by the army , began to show a mutual hatred to each other, even before their arrival at Rome.—U. C. 964.—A. D. 211.—But this opposition was of no long continuance ; for Caracalla , being resolved to govern alone , furiously entered Geta's apartment , and , followed by ruffians , slew him in his mother's arms.

Being thus emperor, he went on to mark *his* course with blood. Whatever was done by Domitian, or Nero , fell short of this monster's barbarities.

His tyrannies, at length , excited the resentment of Macrinus, the commander of the forces in Mesopotamia , who employed one Martial, a man of great strength , and a centurion of the guards, to dispatch him. Accordingly, as the emperor was riding out one day , near a little city called Carræ, he happened to withdraw himself privately upon a natural occasion, with only one page to hold his horse. This was the opportunity Martial had so long and ardently desired ; when running to him hastily, as if he had been called , he stabbed the emperor in the back , and killed him instantly. Having per-

formed this hardy attempt, he unconcernedly returned to his troop; but, retiring by insensible degrees, he endeavoured to secure himself by flight. His companions, however, soon missing him, and the page giving information of what had been done, he was pursued by the German horse, and cut in pieces.

During the reign of this execrable tyrant, which continued six years, the empire was every day declining, the soldiers were entirely masters of every election; and as there were various armies in different parts, so there were as many interests all opposite to each other.

The soldiers, without an emperor, after a suspense of two days, fixed upon Macrinus, who took all possible methods to conceal his being privy to Caracalla's murder. The senate confirmed their choice shortly after: and likewise that of his son Diadumenus, whom he took as a partner in the empire. Macrinus was fifty-three years old when he entered upon the government of the empire. He was of obscure parentage; some say, by birth a Moor, who, by the mere rotation of office, being made first præfect of the prætorian bands, was now, by treason and accident, called to fill the throne.

He was opposed by the intrigues of Mœsa, and her grandson, Heliogabalus; and, being conquered by some seditious legions of his own army, fled to Chalcedon, where those, who were sent in pursuit, overtook, and put him to death, together with his son Diadumenus, after a reign of one year and two months.

The senate and citizens of Rome being obliged to submit to the appointment of the army, as usual, Heliogabalus ascended the throne at the age of fourteen. — U. C. 971.—A. D. 218. — His short life was a mixture of effeminacy, lust, and extravagance. He married, in the small space of four years, six wives, and divorced them all. He was so fond of the sex, that he carried his mother with him to the senate-house, and demanded that she should always be present when matters of importance were debated. He even went so far as to build a senate-house for women, with suitable orders, habits, and distinctions, of which his mother was made president. They met several times, all their debates turning upon the fashions of the day, and the different formalities to be used at giving and receiving visits. To these follies, he added cruelty and boundless prodigality; he used to say, that such dishes as were cheaply obtained were scarce worth eating. It is even said, he strove to foretell what was to happen, by inspecting the entrails of young men sacrificed; and that he chose the most beautiful youths throughout Italy, to be slain for this horrid purpose.

However, his soldiers mutinying, as was now usual with them, they followed him to his palace, pursuing him from apartment to apartment, till at last he was found concealed in a privy. Having dragged him thence through the streets, with the most bitter invectives, and having dispatched him, they attempted once more to squeeze his pampered body into a privy; but not easily effecting this, they

threw it into the Tiber, with heavy weights, that none might afterwards find or give it burial. This was the ignominious death of Heliogabalus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a detestable reign of four years,

To him succeeded Alexander, his consin-german, who, without opposition, being declared emperor, the senate, with their usual adulation, were for conferring new titles upon him; but he modestly, declined them all.— U. C. 795.—A. D. 222.— To the most rigid justice, he added the greatest humanity. He loved the good, and was a severe reprover of the lewd and infamous. His accomplishments were equal to his virtues. He was an excellent mathematician, geometrician, and musician; he was equally skilful in painting and sculpture: and, in poetry, few of his time could equal him. In short, such were his talents, and such the solidity of his judgment, that though but sixteen years of age, he was considered as a wise old man.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, the Upper Germans, and other northern nations, began to pour down immense swarms of people upon the more southern parts of the empire. They passed the Rhine and the Danube with such fury, that all Italy was thrown into the most extreme consternation. The emperor, ever ready to expose his person for the safety of his people, made what levies he could, and went in person to stem the torrent; which he speedily effected. It was in the course of his successes against the enemy, that he was cut off by a mutiny among his own soldiers. He died in the twenty-ninth year

of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days.

The tumults occasioned by the death of Alexander being appeased, Maximin, who had been the chief promoter of the sedition, was chosen emperor. — U. C. 988.—A. D. 235. — This extraordinary man, whose character deserves particular attention, was born of very obscure parentage, being the son of a poor herdsman of Thrace. He followed his father's humble profession, and had exercised his personal courage against the robbers, who infested that part of the country in which he lived. Soon after, his ambition increasing, he left his poor employment, and enlisted in the Roman army, where he soon became remarkable for his great strength, discipline and courage. This gigantic man, we are told, was eight feet and a half high: he had strength corresponding to his size, being not more remarkable for the magnitude, than the symmetry, of his person. His wife's bracelet usually served him for a thumb ring; and his strength was so great, that he was able to draw a carriage which two oxen could not move. He could strike out a horse's teeth with a blow of his fist, and break its thigh with a kick. His diet was as extraordinary as his endowments: he generally ate forty pound's weight of flesh every day, and drank six gallons of wine, without committing any debauch in either. With a frame so athletic, he was possessed of a mind undaunted in danger, and neither fearing nor regarding any man. The first time he was made known was to the emperor Severus, who was then celebrating games on the birth-

day of his son Geta. He overcame sixteen in running, one after the other : he then kept up with the emperor on horseback ; and, having fatigued him in the course, he was opposed to seven of the most active soldiers, and overcame them with the greatest ease. From that circumstance he was particularly noticed, had been taken into the emperor's body guard, and, by the usual gradation of preferment, came to be chief commander. He had been equally remarkable for his simplicity, discipline, and virtue ; but, upon coming to the empire, was found to be one of the greatest monsters of cruelty that had ever disgraced power ; fearful of nothing himself, he seemed to sport with the terrors of all mankind.

However, his cruelties did not retard his military operations, which were carried on with a spirit becoming a better monarch. He overthrew the Germans in several battles, wasted all their country with fire and sword for four hundred miles together, and formed a resolution of subduing all the northern nations as far as the ocean. In these expeditions, in order to attach the soldiers more firmly to him, he increased their pay : and in every duty of the camp he himself took as much pains as the meanest sentinel in his army, showing incredible courage and assiduity. In every engagement where the conflict was hottest, Maximin was seen fighting in person, and destroying all before him ; for, being bred a barbarian, he considered it as his duty to combat as a common soldier, while he commanded as a general.



In the mean time his cruelties had so alienated the minds of his subjects, that several conspiracies were secretly aimed against him. None of them however succeeded, till at last his own soldiers, being long harassed by famine and fatigue, and hearing of revolts on every side, resolved to terminate their calamities by the tyrant's death. His great strength, and his being always armed, were, at first, the principal motives to deter any from assassinating him; but at length the soldiers, having made his guards accomplices in their design, set upon him, while he slept at noon in his tent, and slew both him and his son, whom he had made his partner in the empire, without any opposition. Thus died this most remarkable man, after a usurpation of about three years, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His assiduity when in humble station, and his cruelty when in power, serve very well to evince, that there are some men, whose virtues are fitted for obscurity; as there are others, who only show themselves great, when placed in an exalted station.

The tyrant being dead, and his body thrown to dogs and birds of prey, Pupienus and Balbinus continued for some time emperors, without opposition. — U. C. 991. — A. D. 238. — But, differing between themselves, the prætorian soldiers, who were the enemies of both, set upon them in their palace, at a time when their guards were amused with seeing the Capitoline games, and, dragging them from the palace towards the camp, slew them both, leaving their dead bodies in the street, as a dreadful instance of their sedition.

In the midst of this sedition, as the mutineers were proceeding along, they, by accident, met Gordian, the grandson of him who was slain in Africa. — U. C. 991.—A. D. 238. — Him they declared emperor on the spot. This prince was but sixteen years old when he began to reign; but his virtues seemed to compensate for his want of experience. His principal aims were to unite the opposing members of government, and to reconcile the soldiers and citizens to each other. The army, however, began, as usual, to murmur; and their complaints were artfully fomented by Philip, an Arabian, who was a prætorian præfect. Things thus proceeded from bad to worse. Philip, was, at first, made equal in the command of the empire; shortly after, he was invested with the sole power; and, at length, finding himself capable of perpetrating his long-meditated cruelty, Gordian was, by his order, slain, in the twenty-second year of his age, after a successful reign of near six years.

Philip, having thus murdered his benefactor, was so fortunate as to be immediately acknowledged emperor by the army. Upon his exaltation, he associated his son, a boy of six years of age, as his partner in the empire; and, in order to secure his power at home, made peace with the Persians, and marched his army towards Rome. However, the army revolting in favour of Decius, his general, and setting violently upon him, one of the sentinels, at a blow, cut off his head, or rather cleaved it asunder, separating the under jaw from the upper.

He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of about five years.

Decius was universally acknowledged as his successor. His activity and wisdom seemed, in some measure, to stop the hastening decline of the Roman empire.—U. C. 1001.—A. D. 248.—The senate seemed to think so highly of his merits that they voted him not inferior to *Trajan*; and indeed he seemed, in every instance, to consult their dignity, and the welfare of all the inferior ranks of the people. But no virtues could now prevent the approaching downfall of the state: the obstinate disputes between the Pagans and the Christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, enfeebled it beyond the power of remedy. He was killed in an ambuscade of the enemy, in the fiftieth year of his age, after a short reign of two years and six months.

Gallus, who had betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared emperor by that part of it which survived the defeat:—U. C. 1004.—A. D. 251.—he was forty-five years old when he began to reign, and was descended from a noble family in Rome. He was the first who bought a dishonourable peace from the enemies of the state, agreeing to pay a considerable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repress. He was regardless of every national calamity, and lost in debauchery and sensuality. The Pagans were allowed a power of persecuting the Christians through all parts of the state. These calamities were succeeded by a pestilence from Hea-

ven, that seemed to have generally spread over the earth, and continued raging for several years, in an unheard-of manner; as well as by a civil war, which followed shortly after, between Gallus and his general Æmilianus, who having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed emperor by his conquering army. Gallus, hearing this, soon roused from the intoxications of pleasure, and prepared to oppose his dangerous rival: he, with his son, were slain by Æmilianus, in a battle fought in Mœsia. His death was merited, and his vices were such as to deserve the detestation of posterity. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, after an unhappy reign of two years and four months, in which the empire suffered inexpressible calamities.

The senate refused to acknowledge the claims of Æmilianus; and an army that was stationed near the Alps chose Valerian, who was their commander, to succeed to the throne.—U. C. 1006.—A. D. 253.—He set about reforming the state, with a spirit that seemed to mark a good mind and unabated vigour. But reformation was then grown almost impracticable. The Persians, under their king Sapor, invading Syria, took the unfortunate Valerian prisoner, as he was making preparations to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties, which were practised upon this unhappy monarch, thus fallen into the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, used him as a footstool for mounting his horse: he added the bitterness of ridicule to his insults, and usually observed, that an attitude like that to which Valerian was reduced,

was the best statue that could be erected in honour of his victory. This horrid life of insult and suffering continued for seven years; and was, at length terminated by the cruel Persian's commanding his prisoner's eyes to be plucked out, and afterwards causing him to be flayed alive.

When Valerian was taken prisoner, Galienus, his son, promising to revenge the insult, was chosen emperor, being then about forty-one years old. — U. C. 1012.—A. D. 259. — However, he soon discovered, that he sought rather the splendours, than the toils of empire; for, after having overthrown Ingenuus, who had assumed the title of emperor, he sat down, as if fatigued with conquest, and gave himself up to ease and luxury. It was at this time, that no less than thirty pretenders were seen contending with each other for the dominion of the state, and adding the calamities of civil war to the rest of the misfortunes of this devoted empire. *These are generally known in history by the name of the Thirty Tyrants.* In this general calamity, Galienus, though at first seemingly insensible, was, at length, obliged, for his own security, to take the field, and led an army to besiege the city of Milan, which had been taken by one of the thirty usurping tyrants. It was there he was slain by his own soldiers; Martian, one of his generals, having conspired against him.

Flavins Claudius being nominated to succeed, he was joyfully accepted by all orders of the state, and his title confirmed by the senate and the people.— U. C. 1021. — A. D. 268. — He was a man of great valour and conduct, having performed the most ex-

cellent services against the Goths , who had long continued to make irruptions into the empire ; but on his march against that barbarous people , as he approached near the city Sirmium , in Pannonia , he was seized with a pestilential fever , of which he died , to the great regret of his subjects , and the irreparable loss of the Roman empire.

Upon the death of Claudius , Aurelian was acknowledged by all the states of the empire , and assumed the command with a greater share of power than his predecessors had enjoyed for a long time before. — U. C. 1023.—A. D. 270. — This active monarch was of mean and obscure parentage in Dacia , and about fifty-five years old at the time of his coming to the throne. He had spent the early part of his life in the army , and had risen through all the gradations of military duty. He was of unshaken courage and amazing strength. He , in one single engagement , killed forty of the enemy with his own hand , and at different times above nine hundred. In short , his valour and expedition were such , that he was compared to Julius Cæsar , and , in fact , only wanted mildness and clemency to be every way his equal. Among those , who were compelled to submit to his power , was the famous Zenobia , queen of Palmyra. He subdued her country , destroyed her city , and took her prisoner. Longinus , the celebrated critic , who was secretary to the queen , was , by Aurelian's order , put to death. Zenobia was reserved to grace his triumph : and afterwards was allotted such lands , and such an income as served

to maintain her in almost her former splendour. His severities, at last, were the cause of his destruction. Menestheus, his principal secretary, having been threatened by him, for some fault, which he had committed, formed a conspiracy against him, and as the emperor passed, with a small guard, from Heraclea, in Thrace, towards Byzantium, the conspirators set upon him at once, and slew him, in the sixtieth year of his age, after a very active reign of almost five years.

After some time, the senate made choice of Tacitus, a man of great merit, and no way ambitious of the honours that were offered him, being at that time seventy-five years old. — U. C. 1028.—A. D. 275. — A reign begun with much moderation and justice, only wanted continuance to have made the empire happy; but, after enjoying the empire about six months, he died of a fever in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern parts of the empire. During this short period, the senate seemed to have a large share of authority, and the historians of the times are liberal of their praises to such emperors, as were thus willing to divide their power.

Upon the death of Tacitus, the whole army, as if by common consent, cried out that Probus should be emperor. He was then forty-four years old; was born of noble parentage, and bred a soldier. He began early to distinguish himself for his discipline and valour, being frequently the first man that scaled the walls, or that burst into the enemy's camp. He was equally remarkable for single combat, and

saving the lives of many eminent citizens. Nor were his activity and courage, when elected to the empire, less apparent than in his private station. Every year now produced new calamities to the empire ; and fresh irruptions on every side threatened universal desolation. Perhaps, at this time, no abilities except those of Probus were capable of opposing such united invasions. However, in the end, his own mutinous soldiers, taking their opportunity, as he was marching into Greece, seized and slew him, after he had reigned six years and four months with general approbation.

Carus, who was prætorian præfect to the deceased emperor, was chosen by the army to succeed him ; and he, to strengthen his authority, united his two sons, — U. C. 1035.—A. D. 282. — Carinus and Numerian, with him in command, the former of whom was as much sullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for virtues, modesty, and courage. Carus was, shortly after his exaltation, struck dead by lightning, in his tent, with many others that were round him.

Numerian, the youngest son, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconsolable for his death, and brought such a disorder upon his eyes, with weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, shut up in a close litter. The peculiarity of his situation, after some time, excited the ambition of Aper, his father-in-law, who supposed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himself. He therefore hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor in his



litter; and, the better to conceal the fact, gave out that he was still alive, but unable to endure the light. The offensiveness of the smell of the corpse at length discovered the treachery, and excited a universal uproar throughout the whole army. In the midst of this tumult, Diocletian, one of the most noted commanders of his time, was chosen emperor, and with his own hand slew Aper: having thus, as it is said, fulfilled a prophecy, that *Diocletian should be emperor after he had slain a Boar.*

Diocletian was a person of mean birth: he received his name from Dioclea, the town in which he was born, and was about forty years old when he was elected to the empire.—U.C. 1037.—A. D. 284.—He owed his exaltation entirely to his merit; having passed through all the gradations of office, with sagacity, courage, and success. In his time, the northern hive, as it was called, poured down their swarms of barbarians upon the Roman empire. Ever at war with the Romans, they issued forth, whenever the army, that was to repress their invasions, was called away; and, upon its return, they as suddenly withdrew into their cold, barren, and inaccessible retreats, which themselves alone could endure. In this manner the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carsii, and Quadi, came down in incredible numbers; while every defeat seemed but to increase their strength and perseverance. After gaining many victories over these, and in the midst of his triumphs, Diocletian, and Maximian, his partner in the empire, surprised the world by resigning their dignities on the same day, and both retir-

ing into private stations. In this contented manner Diocletian lived some time. He died either by poison or madness, but by which of them is uncertain. His reign of twenty years was active and useful; and his authority, which was tinged with severity, was adapted to the depraved state of morals at that time.

Upon the resignation of the two emperors, the two Cæsars, whom they had before chosen, were universally acknowledged as their successors,—U. C. 1057-A. D. 304,—namely, Constantius Chlorus, so called from the paleness of his complexion, a man virtuous, valiant, and merciful; and Galerius, who was brave, but brutal, incontinent, and cruel. As there was such a disparity in their tempers, they readily agreed upon coming into full power, to divide the empire. Constantius was appointed to govern the western parts. Constantius died in Britain, appointing Constantine, his son, as his successor. Galerius was seized with a very extraordinary disorder, which baffled the skill of his physicians, and carried him off.

Constantine, afterward surnamed the Great, had some competitors at first for the throne. — U. C. 1057.—A. D. 311. — Among the rest was Maxentius, who was at that time in possession of Rome, and a steadfast assertor of paganism. It was in Constantine's march against that usurper, we are told, that he was converted to Christianity by a very extraordinary appearance. One evening the army being upon its march towards Rome, Constantine was intent on various considerations upon the fate of sub-

lunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition. Sensible of his own incapacity to succeed without divine assistance, he employed his meditations upon the opinions that were then agitated among mankind, and sent up his ejaculations to Heaven, to inspire him with wisdom to choose the path he should pursue. As the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared a pillar of light in the heavens, in the fashion of a cross, with this inscription, *ΤΟΥΤΟ ΝΙΚΑ*, *IN THIS OVERCOME*. So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment both in the emperor and his whole army, who reflected on it as their various dispositions led them to believe. Those, who were attached to paganism, prompted by their auspices, pronounced it to be a most inauspicious omen, portending the most unfortunate events; but it made a different impression on the emperor's mind; who, as the account goes, was farther encouraged by visions the same night. He therefore, the day following, caused a royal standard to be made, like that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. After this, he consulted with the principal teachers of Christianity, and made a public avowal of that sacred persuasion.

Constantine, having thus attached his soldiers to his interest, who were mostly of the Christian persuasion, lost no time in entering Italy, with ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; and soon advanced almost to the very gates of Rome. Maxentius advanced from the city, with an army of a

hundred and seventy thousand horse. The engagement was fierce and bloody, till his cavalry being routed, victory declared upon the side of his opponent, and he himself was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to cross the Tiber.

In consequence of this victory, Constantine, entering the city, disclaimed all praises which the senate and people were ready to offer; and ascribed his success to a superior power. He even caused the cross, which he was said to have seen in the heavens, to be placed at the right of all his statues, with this inscription: « That under the influence of  
« that Victorious Cross, Constantine had delivered  
« the city from the yoke of tyrannical power, and  
» had restored the senate and people of Rome to  
« their ancient authority. » He afterwards ordained, that no criminal should for the future suffer death upon the cross: which had formerly been the most usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences. Edicts were soon after issued, declaring, that the Christians should be eased of all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority.

Things continued in this state for some time; Constantine contributing what was in his power to the interest of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almost wholly extinct in the empire. But, in the midst of these assiduities, the peace of the empire was again disturbed by the preparations of Maximin, who governed in the East: and who, desirous of a full participation of power, marched against Licinius,

with a very numerous army. In consequence of this step, after many conflicts, a general engagement ensued, in which Maximin suffered a total defeat: many of his troops were cut to pieces, and those that survived submitted to the conqueror. Having, however, escaped the general carnage, he once more put himself at the head of another army, resolving to try the *fortune of the field*; but his death prevented the design. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madness, the Christians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to ascribe his end to a judgment from Heaven. But this was the age in which false opinions and false miracles made up the bulk of an instructive history.

Constantine and Licinius thus remaining undisputed possessors and partners in the empire, all things promised a peaceable continuance of friendship and power. However, it was soon found, that the same ambition, that aimed after a part, would be content with nothing less than the whole. Pagan writers ascribe the rupture between the two potentates to Constantine; while the Christians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both sides exerted all their power to make opposition; and, at the head of very formidable armies, came to an engagement near Cybalis, in Pannonia. Constantine, previous to the battle, in the midst of his Christian bishops, begged the assistance of Heaven; while Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the Pagan priests to intercede with the gods in his favour. The success was on the side of truth: Constantine, after an obstinate resistance, became victorious; took

the enemy's camp; and, after some time compelled Licinius to sue for a truce; which was agreed upon. But this was of no long continuance; for, soon after, the war breaking out afresh, the rivals came once more to a general engagement, and it proved decisive. Licinius was entirely defeated, and pursued by Constantine into Nicomedia, where he surrendered himself up to the victor; having first obtained an oath, that his life should be spared, and that he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. This, however, Constantine shortly after broke; for either fearing his designs, or finding him actually engaged in fresh conspiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian, his general, who some time before, had been created Cæsar.

Constantine, being thus sole monarch of the empire, resolved to establish Christianity on so sure a basis, that no new revolutions should shake it. He commanded, that in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the bishops should be strictly obeyed. He called also a general council of these, in order to repress the heresies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. To this council repaired about three hundred and eighteen bishops, beside a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself; who all, except about seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius, who, with his associates, was banished into a remote part of the empire.

Thus he restored universal tranquillity to the empire, but was not able to ward off calamities of a

more domestic nature. As the wretched histories of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not easy to tell the motives which induced him to put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death. The most plausible account is this : Fausta, the empress, who was a woman of great beauty, but of extravagant desires, had long, though secretly, loved Crispus, Constantine's son by a former wife. She had tried every art to inspire this youth with a mutual passion ; and, finding her more distant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confession of her desires. This produced an explanation, which was fatal to both. Crispus received her addresses with detestation ; and she, to be revenged, accused him to the emperor. Constantine, fired at once with jealousy and rage, ordered him to die without a hearing ; nor did his innocence appear till it was too late for redress. The only reparation, therefore, that remained, was the putting Fausta to death, which was accordingly executed upon her, together with some others, who had been accomplices in her falsehood and treachery.

But it is supposed, that all the good he did was not equal to the evil the empire sustained by his transferring the seat of it from Rome to Byzantium or Constantinople, as it was afterwards called. Whatever might have been the reasons which induced him to this undertaking ; whether it was because he was offended at some affronts he had received at Rome, or that he supposed Constantinople more in the centre of the empire, or that he thought the eastern parts more required his presence ; expe-

rience has shown that they were all weak and groundless. The empire had long before been in a most declining state ; but this in a great measure gave precipitation to its downfall. After this it never resumed its former splendour, but like a flower transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length sunk into nothing.

At first his design was to build a city, which he might make the capital of the world ; and for this purpose he made choice of a situation at Chalcedon, in Asia Minor ; but we are told that, in laying out the ground plan, an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city, which lay upon the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the seat of empire ; and, indeed, nature seemed to have formed it with all the conveniences, and all the beauties, which might induce power to make it the seat of residence. It was situated on a plain that rose gently from the water ; it commanded that strait, which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine sea, and was furnished with all the advantages which the most indulgent climate could bestow. The city, therefore, he beautified with the most magnificent edifices ; he divided it into fourteen regions ; — U. C. 1083.—A. D. 330.— built a capitol, an amphitheatre, many churches, and other public works ; and, having thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his idea, he dedicated it in a very solemn manner to the God of Martyrs ; and, in about two years after, repaired thither with his whole court.



This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government of the empire. The inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, submitted to the change ; nor was there for two or three years any disturbance in the state, until, at length, the Goths, finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garrisons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with *unheard-of cruelty*. Constantine, however, soon repressed their incursions ; and so straitened them, that near a hundred thousand of their number perished by cold and hunger.

Another great error ascribed to him is, the dividing the empire among his sons. Constantine the emperor's eldest son, commanded in Gaul and the western provinces ; Constantius, his second, governed Africa and Illyricum ; and Constans, the youngest, ruled in Italy. This division of the empire still farther contributed to its downfall ; for the united strength of the state being no longer brought to repress invasion, the barbarians fought with superior numbers, and conquered at last, though often defeated. When Constantine was above sixty years old, and had reigned about thirty, he found his health decline. His disorder, which was an ague, increasing, he went to Nicomedia, where, finding himself without hopes of a recovery, he caused himself to be baptised. He soon after received the sacrament, and expired.



## CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AFTER  
THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE, AND THE EVENTS  
WHICH HASTENED THE CATASTROPHE.

FROM this dreary period, the recovery of the empire became desperate; no wisdom could obviate its declension; no courage oppose the evils that surrounded it on every side. Were we to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of those times, it would be rather of the conquerors, than the conquered; of those Gothic chiefs, who led a more virtuous and more courageous people to the conquest of nations corrupted by vice, and enervated by luxury.

These barbarians were at first unknown to the Romans, and afterwards only inconvenient to them. But they were now become formidable, and arose in such numbers, that the earth seemed to produce a new race of mankind, to complete the empire's destruction. They had been increasing in their hideous deserts, amid regions frightful with eternal snows, and had long only waited the opportunity of coming down into a more favourable climate. Against such an enemy no courage could avail, nor abilities be successful; a victory could only cut off numbers without a habitation and without a name, who were soon to be succeeded by others equally desperate, equally obscure.

Most of the emperors, who had to contend with this people, were furnished neither with courage nor conduct to oppose them. Their residence in Asia seemed to enervate their manners, and produced a desire in them to be adored like the monarchs of the East. Smug in softness, they shewed themselves with less frequency to the soldiers; they became more indolent, fonder of domestic pleasures, and more abstracted from the empire. *Constantius*, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful; governed by his eunuchs and his wives, and unfit to profit the falling empire. *Julian*, his successor, surnamed the Apostate, upon account of his relapsing into paganism, was a very valiant prince. By his wisdom, conduct, and œconomy, he chased the barbarians, that had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine, out of their new settlements; and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which lasted but two years. *Jovian* and *Valentinian* had virtue and strength sufficient to preserve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince saw the necessity of restoring the ancient plan of the empire more than *Valentinian*; the former emperors had drained away all the frontier garrisons, merely to strengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine; making levies, raising castles, placing troops in proper stations, and furnishing them with subsistence for their support; but an event, that no human prudence could foresee, brought up a new enemy to assist in the universal destruction.

That tract of land, which lies between the *Palus*

Mæotis, the mountains of Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, was inhabited by a numerous savage people, known by the names of the Huns and Alanes. Their soil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder. As they imagined it impracticable to pass the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans, so that they remained confined within the limits their ignorance had assigned them, while other nations plundered with security. It has been the opinion of some, that the slime, which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais, had by degrees, formed a kind of incrustation on the surface of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, over which those people are supposed to have passed. Others relate, that two young Scythians being in full pursuit of a heifer, the terrified creature swam over an arm of the sea, and the youths, immediately following her, found themselves in a new world, upon the opposite shore. At their return, they did not fail to relate the wonders of the strange lands countries which they had discovered; and, upon their information, an innumerable body of Huns passed those straits, and meeting first with the Goths, made that people flee before them. The Goths, in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube, and, with a suppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they easily obtained from Valens, who assigned them several portions of land in Thrace, but left them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated, therefore, by hunger and resentment, they soon after rose against their protectors, and, in a

dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens himself, and the greatest part of his army.

It was in this manner the Roman armies grew weaker; so that the emperors, finding it difficult, at last, to raise levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use in circumstances of immediate danger; but, when that was over, the Romans found it was as difficult to rid themselves of their new allies, as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk gradually under the weight of several attacks made upon it on every side. When the barbarians had wasted one province, those who succeeded the first spoilers proceeded on to another. Their devastations were at first limited to Thrace, Mysia, and Pannonia; but, when these countries were ruined, they destroyed Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece; and thence they expatiated to Noricum. The empire was in this manner continually shrinking, and Italy, at last, became the frontier of its own dominion.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius, in some measure, retarded the destruction that had begun in the time of Valens; but, upon his death, the enemy became irresistible. A large body of *Goths* had been called in to assist the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king; but what was brought in to stop the universal decline, proved the most mortal stab to its security. This Gothic prince, who is represented as brave, impetuous

and enterprising, perceiving the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successors of Theodosius, were able to secure it; being instigated, also, still farther by the artifices of one Cusinus; who had designs upon the throne himself; this warlike prince, putting himself at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for some years with various success. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies from his native forests; and, at length, putting his mighty designs in execution, passed the Alps, and poured down, like a torrent, among the fruitful vallies of Italy. This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight; its fields had been turned into gardens of pleasure, that served to enervate the possessors, from having once been a nursery of military strength, furnishing soldiers for the conquest of mankind. The timid inhabitants, therefore, beheld, with terror, a dreadful enemy, ravaging in the midst of their country, while their wretched emperor, Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, still seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation. But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, that had long sat as mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and, being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of pestilence and famine, to a most deplorable situation. In this extremity the senate dispatched

\*\*

their ambassadors to Alaric, desiring him either to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, or to give them leave to fight it out with him in the open field. To this message the Gothic monarch replied, with a burst of laughter, « Thick grass is easier cut than thin : » implying, that their troops, when cooped up within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome, than when drawn out in order of battle. *When they debated about a peace, he demanded all their riches, and all their slaves.* When he was asked, « What then would he leave them ? » he sternly replied, « Their lives ! » These were hard conditions for so celebrated a city to accept ; but compelled by the necessity of the times, they raised an immense treasure, both by taxation and stripping heathen temples ; and thus, at length, bought off their fierce invader. But this was no more than a temporary removal of the calamity ; for Alaric, now finding that he might become master of Rome, whenever he thought proper, returned with his army a short time after ;—U. C. 1163.—A. D. 410.—pressed it more closely than he had done before, and at last took it ; whether by force or stratagem, is not agreed among historians. Thus, that city, which for ages had plundered the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of mankind, now felt, in turn, the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict, or patience endure. The soldiers had free liberty to pillage all places except the Christian churches ; and, in the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of these barbarians for our holy religion, that the pa-

gan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days : and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that sunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there were still numberless traces of the city's former greatness; so that this capture seemed rather a correction than a total overthrow.

But the Gothic conquerors of the West, though they had suffered Rome to survive its first capture, now found how easy it was to become masters of it upon any other occasion. The extent of its walls had, in fact, made it almost impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was situated in a plain, it might be stormed without much difficulty. Besides this no succours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was so extremely diminished, that the emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna; a place so fortified by nature, that they could be safe without the assistance of an army. What Alaric, therefore, spared, Genseric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to destroy; his merciless soldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged with implacable fury in the midst of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings, nor public buildings, neither sex, nor age, nor religion, were the least protection against their lust or avarice.

The capital of the empire being thus ransacked several times, and Italy overrun by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remotest skirts of Europe; the western emperors, for



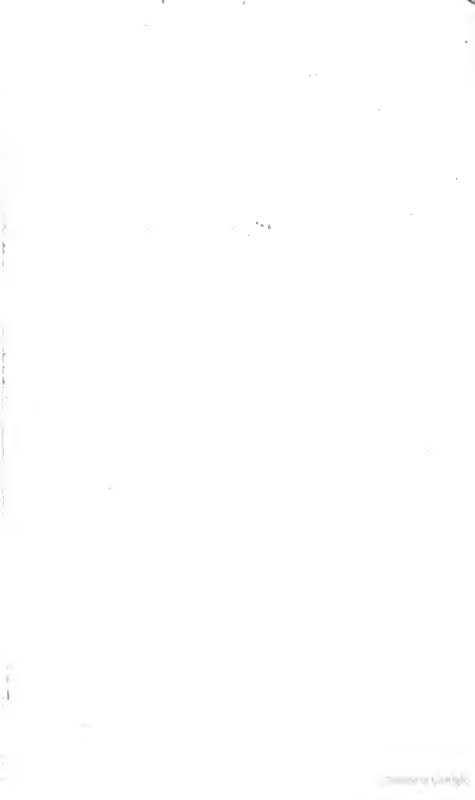
some time, continued to hold the title without the power of royalty. Honorius lived till he saw himself stripped of the greatest part of his dominions; his capital taken by the Goths; the Huns possessed of Pannonia; the Alans, Sævi, and Vandals established in Spain; and the Burgundians settled in Gaul, where the Goths also fixed themselves at last. After some time, the inhabitants of Rome, being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the supreme power into their own hands. Armorica and Britain, seeing themselves forsaken, began to regulate themselves by their own laws. Thus the power of the state was entirely broken, and those who assumed the title of emperors only encountered certain destruction. At length, even the very name of Emperor of the West expired upon the abdication of Augustulus, and Odoacer, general of the Heruli, assumed the title of KING OF ALL ITALY. Such was the end of this great empire, that had conquered mankind with its wisdom; that had risen by temperance, and that fell by luxury; that had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and sunk into ruin when the empire was become so extensive that a Roman citizen was an empty name. Its final dissolution happened about 522 years after the battle of Pharsalia; 146 after removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople; and 476 after the nativity of our Saviour.

FINIS.

---

PRINTED BY DOME, S. JOHN'S SQUARE.











BIBLIOTECA CENTRAL

A. 96:8º

-272-

120

BIBLIOTECA DE O



10019342

